

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Published with the generous help of the Belgian "Universitaire Stichting",
the Belgian Government and the "Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven".

Editor

Prof. Dr. J. IJsewijn
Semin. Philol. Human.

Leopoldstraat 22
B-3000 LEUVEN - Belgium

Vol. XX

1971

Publisher

Uitgeverij VANDER
Muntstraat 10

B-3000 LEUVEN - Belgium

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

Editorial Board

Editor :

Prof. Dr. Jozef A.M.K. IJsewijn (Leuven-Belgium).

Associate Editors :

Prof. Dr. Leonard W. Forster (Cambridge); Prof. Cl.-H. Frèches (Aix-en-Provence); Prof. Dr. Veljko Gortan (Zagreb); Prof. Dr. Fred Nichols (Yale); Doc. Dr. Jan Öberg (Stockholm); Mgr. José Ruyschaert (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana); Prof. Dr. Lidia Winniczuk (Warszawa); Doc. Dr. D. Wuttke (Göttingen).

Editorial Assistants :

Marie-José Desmet- Goethals (Leuven) - Gilbert Tournoy (Leuven).

*

Volumes 1 through 16 were edited by the late Mgr. Henry De Vocht from 1928 till 1961. Beginning with volume 17 (1968) HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA appears annually as a *Journal of neo-Latin Studies*.

Orders for separate volumes and standing orders should be sent to the publisher : VANDER, Muntstraat 10, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

Manuscripts and requests for exchange with other publications on humanism and neo-Latin literature should be submitted to the editor : Prof. Dr. J. IJsewijn, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Leopoldstraat 22 (formerly 32 !), B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

Contributors will receive twenty offprints of their articles free of charge. Further copies, which should be ordered when proofs are returned to the editor, can be supplied at cost price.

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Published with the generous help of the Belgian "Universitaire Stichting",
the Belgian Government and the "Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven".

Editor

Prof. Dr. J. IJsewijn

Semin. Philol. Human.

Leopoldstraat 22

B-3000 LEUVEN - Belgium

Vol. XX

1971

Publisher

Uitgeverij VANDER

Muntstraat 10

B-3000 LEUVEN - Belgium

D 1971/0109/43

© vander
Muntstraat, 10
B - 3000 Leuven

LIBRI INDEX

J. IJSEWIJN & G. TOURNOY <i>Nuovi contributi per l'elenco dei manoscritti e delle edizioni delle Elegantiae di Lorenzo Valla</i>	1
A. SOTTILI <i>L'Università italiana e la diffusione dell'umanesimo nei Paesi Tedeschi</i>	5
Fr.-R. HAUSMANN <i>Die Briefsammlung des Kardinals Giacomo Ammannati und Ihre Bedeutung für die humanistische Briefliteratur des Quattrocento</i>	23
V. GORTAN and VI. VRATOVIC <i>The Basic Characteristics of Croatian Latinity. With a Post-scriptum by J. IJsewijn</i>	37
N. VAN DER BLOM <i>Une nouvelle vision sur l'année de naissance d'Erasmus (a propos de : A.C.F. Koch, The Year of Erasmus'Birth)</i>	73
J.D. TRACY <i>The 1489 and 1494 Versions of Erasmus' Antibarbarorum Liber</i>	85
K.H. BURMEISTER <i>Johannes Pedionaeus Rhetus (ca. 1520 - 1550). Biographie - Werkverzeichnis - Briefe</i>	125
J.W. BINNS <i>William Gager's Dido</i>	167
M.A. NAUWELAERTS <i>Quatre lettres de Petrus Vladeraccus (1570-1618)</i>	255
D. SCHOUTEN <i>Die Ida von Laurens Van Santen. Einleitung, Text, Kommentar</i>	267

J. IJsewijn & G. Tournoy

NUOVI CONTRIBUTI PER L'ELENCO DEI MANOSCRITTI E DELLE EDIZIONI DELLE *ELEGANTIAE* DI LORENZO VALLA

Appena due anni sono passati, da quando è stato pubblicato il nostro "primo censimento" (1), ma il numero considerevole di *addenda et corrigenda*, dovuto a nuove indagini in molte biblioteche italiane e tedesche, al controllo dei microfilms che ci sono pervenuti nel frattempo, ed a nuove indicazioni da parte di tante persone che hanno voluto aiutarci, ci consiglia di non tralasciare i nuovi dati.

Negli elenchi verrà seguito lo stesso ordine dell'articolo precedente.

A. I CODICI

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 2. Chicago, ULC, ms. 703 | comunicazione Margaret McFadden |
| 8bis. Firenze, BLF, Plut. 52, cod. 34 | Bandini II, 573 |
| 10. London BML, Bibl. Burneiana 353 | BMCatM. II, 94 |
| 27. San Gimignano BOSG, cod. D 4 | Kristeller II, 142 |

B. CODICI PRESUNTI

Sono da rimuovere dall'elenco A, e da relegare nell'elenco B, i numeri

32 (Venezia, BNMV, Lat. IX, 14, che appartiene alla biblioteca della Fondazione Querini-Stampalia e non alla Marciana)

34 (Washington FSLW, S.M. 6)

che dopo il controllo dei microfilms si rivelarono come contenenti solo epitomi delle *Elegantiae*.

C. LE EDIZIONI

- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|------|---|
| * 34 Venezia | Albertinus de Lisona | 1504 | BCAB, 16. N.I. 23
SSBA, 20 Enc. 64 ^a e
2° INK. 958 |
| * 43 Venezia | Melchior Sessa | 1510 | BV, Prop. IV. 147 |
| 45bis Venezia | Joh. Tacuinus de Tridino | 1513 | BNMV, Rari Veneti 144
e 24
BCAB, 16.K.IV.4
BV, Prop. IV. 8 |

(1) *Humanistica Lovaniensia* XVIII (1969), 25-41.

* 44. Milano	Io. Ang. Scinzenzeler	1511	BCC, M/568/F 5/N 21
* 54 (Venezia)	A. de Zannis de Portesio	1519	Cambridge, St. John's College (Adams II, p. 306) BV, Prop. IV. 9
* 56 Paris		1520	SSBA, 2° Spw. 126
* 58 Schlettstadt	L. Schürer	1520	ULCa (Adams II, p. 306)
61 Köln	H. Alopecius	1522	Queen's College, Cambridge (Adams II, p. 306)
* 66 Köln	H. Alopecius	1526	SSBA, Spw. 2375
* 68 Venezia	B. Bindonus	1526	BCAB, 16.1.I.12 BV, Chigi II. 998 (2)
* 76 Lyon	S. Gryphius	1532	BCAB, 16.C.V.50
* 81 Lyon	S. Gryphius	1534	BCAB, 16.C.VI.4
* 82 Köln	J. Gymnicus	1534	BV, R.G. Class. V. 382
94 Paris	P. Regnault	1539	BCA, Q 392
* 107 Köln	J. Gymnicus	1543	BV, Ferraioli V. 552 SSBA, Spw 2377
* 106 Basel	<i>B. Westheimer (!)</i>	1543	SSBA, Spw 2376
* 108 Lyon	S. Gryphius	1543	Cambridge, Emmanuel College (Adams II, p. 306) BV, R.G. Neolat. V.248
* 110 Venezia	A. de Tortis	1543	BSN, 7400
* 116 Lyon	Antonius Vincentius	1545	SSBA, Spw 2380
* 124bis Lyon	s.n.	1551	BCC, S 13/F 1/N 78
* 124ter Lyon	Antonius Vincentius	1551	SSBA, Spw 2381
* 126 Basel	N. Bryling	1554	BNMV, T2. T. 333
* 128 Lyon	Th. Paganus	1554	BUB, A.V. X.XII.20
* 129 Köln	G. Fabricius	1555	SSBA, Spw 2382
* 137 Köln	G. Fabricius	1563	SSBA, Spw 2384
* 137bis Venezia	Joh. Gryphius	1563	BCC, S 93/F 6/N 55 BNMV 228.d.208
* 141bis Venezia	Joh. Gryphius	1569	BAM, S.I.F.II.12 BCC, S 51/F 5/N 23 BV, R.G. Neolat. V. 340
141ter Basel	Haeredes Bryling	1571	Cambridge, Trinity, Magdalen and Pembroke (2) College (Adams, II, p. 306)
? 143 Paris	Brumennius	1575	ROP, 649 : non si trova un esemplare alla biblioteca di Troyes !
* 144 Venezia	J. Gryphius	1576	BNMV 228.d.202 BAM, S.P. I.III. 146 BV, R.G. Neolat. V. 304 BRF, FF. 13074

* 145	Köln	J. Gymnicus	1577	BCAB, T.E. VI.40
* 146	Venezia	J. Gryphius	1586	BV, R.G. Neolat. V.279

Sigle e Abbreviazioni

Adams : ADAMS H.M., Catalogue of Books Printed in the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600, in Cambridge Libraries. Cambridge, 1967, 2 vols.

BCC : Biblioteca Comunale, Como

BMA : Bibliothèque Municipale, Avranches

BSN : Bibliothèque Séguier, Nîmes

BUB : Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna

SSBA : Staat- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg

ULCa : University Library, Cambridge

Lovanio

A. Sottili

L'UNIVERSITA' ITALIANA E LA DIFFUSIONE DELL'UMANESIMO NEI
PAESI TEDESCHI *

A Fritz Schalk : 17 gennaio 1972.

Credo sia difficile indicare per il Quattrocento tedesco un manuale di retorica superiore, almeno nella modernità, cioè nell'adattamento ai tempi, alla *Margarita poetica* di Albrecht von Eyb. Come molti suoi contemporanei, predecessori e successori, in Italia e in Germania, anche Albrecht lavorava per 'excerpta' e utilizzava opere diffusissime al suo tempo, ma cadute poi in totale dimenticanza. Sintomatica è, ad esempio, la serie di estratti da Stefano Fieschi, che il tedesco cita d'un fiato con compilazioni da Gasparino Barzizza, quantunque fra il retore bergamasco, il Barzizza cioè, ed il maestro soncinate, il Fieschi, di comune non ci sia molto più del mestiere di insegnante¹ : ma l'associazione non rimane limitata alla *Margarita poetica*². Che un grammatico di minimo rilievo come il Fieschi possa essere entrato con tutti gli onori nella più nobile raccolta retorica del Quattrocento tedesco ed accanto ad un accademico del rango del Barzizza deve essere spiegato e motivato. E infatti le ragioni non mancano : praticità degli scritti del Fieschi, loro diffusione con traduzioni o almeno didascalie in varie lingue, composizione di qualche scritto occasionale di modesto valore intrinseco e tuttavia, per circostanze esterne, capace di attirare l'attenzione del mondo colto, e, a mio avviso, soprattutto la biografia dell'autore, il quale, lombardo di origine, ebbe contatti epistolari con Francesco Oca, altro retore di minimo valore, ma, come e più di Albrecht von Eyb, attivo per lunghi anni nell'Ateneo pavese³. Il destino accademico e la fortuna scolastica del Fieschi presso i transalpini resta esemplificata dalla ripetuta stampa dei suoi *Sinonima sententiarum* in paesi tedeschi e da una nota antologia umanistica conservata nella Stadtbibliothek di Treviri, descritta dal Bertalot e studiata, per la parte guariniana, dal Sabbadini, e contenente del Fieschi una lettera a Francesco da Crema, una lettera a Priamo Businello, un'orazione⁴. Il contrasto fra queste mediocrissime composizioni e l'epistolario guariniano, di cui il codice di Treviri è testimone non trascurabile, ripete l'opposizione Barzizza-Fieschi registrata poco sopra ed è spiegabile sulla stessa linea con motivi oggettivi e soggettivi : i ricordi e gli incontri personali nelle scuole italiane, la facile applicabilità nell'uso pratico di un modello retorico di non molte pretese in una società, quella tedesca, non ancora del tutto disposta ad accogliere senza obiezioni un tipo d'orazione così diverso dalla 'Collatio' medievale e non più fondato sul commento di un versetto biblico citato ad esordio. Le stesse ragioni si lasciano, senza sforzi dimostrativi, applicare alla conservazione in un'antologia monacense di una lettera di raccomandazione indirizzata da Francesco Oca al decano ed al capitolo del

Neumünster di Würzburg a favore di Heinrich Truchsess e ad un'orazione composta dall' Oca per la stessa persona e da recitarsi davanti all'arcivescovo di Bamberg⁵.

Quando ci si avvia per la strada del preziosismo erudito è difficile interrompere di colpo ; e d'altra parte chi si occupa, avendo come punto d'avvio l'Università italiana, della diffusione dell' Umanesimo nella scuola tedesca (quella a livello inferiore, perché meno organizzata e per sua natura con fondamenta teoretiche più fragili, mi sembra sia stata più facile e rapida conquista, almeno in superficie, per la retorica degli umanisti), della sua ricezione nelle cancellerie, e non solo in quella imperiale, dove, a causa del Piccolomini, i dibattiti letterari e gli scambi di lettere all' italiana erano inevitabili e non senza riflessi sull'Università di Vienna, della sua pratica nelle discussioni e nelle consuetudini dei dotti, della sua entrata nelle corti vescovili e nei conventi, sa molto bene come, tolte alcune personalità di rilievo (Zabarella e il suo circolo, sia di italiani che di non italiani ; Gregor Heimbürg e la sua movimentata biografia ; gli Schedel ed i Pirckheimer, colle loro monumentali biblioteche, e certo altri ancora), si sia costretti a procedere raccogliendo reliquia per reliquia, vale a dire a studiare antologia per antologia e a chiarire la biografia dei singoli studenti durante la permanenza a Pavia, Padova, Bologna e anche a Roma, e la posizione nella società in cui agirono dopo gli studi.

Continuando dunque a sfogliare il codice dove già abbiamo trovato i testi di Francesco Oca per Heinrich Truchsess, rileviamo altri nomi che ci riportano nella Pavia universitaria, il rettore Pietro da Chiaravalle, i professori Giangiacomo Palmengo, Domenico Ferrufini e, per i nostri scopi, veramente di rilievo, Baldassarre Rasini, questi nel ruolo di autore di una supplica al duca di Milano riguardante il bidello della 'Natio germanica'. Baldassarre Rasini si incontra anche sfogliando la *Margarita poetica*⁶ e il suo insegnamento di retorica fu per le prime generazioni, ancora inesperte ed ingenue, di umanisti tedeschi, certo più decisivo di quello del Valla, anche se colla seconda metà (molto avanzata però) del secolo, il metodo filologico del secondo penetrerà in teologia e giurisprudenza, colle conseguenze note, mentre del Rasini, una volta deposto nella tomba, nessuno o quasi discorrerà più fino agli eruditi del Settecento, agli storici dell'Università di Pavia e dell' Umanesimo tedesco, e agli studiosi della tradizione di Plauto e della commedia quattrocentesca⁷. L'Argelati, che al Rasini dedica un breve articolo⁸, segnala un solo scritto di Baldassarre, l'*Orazione* in lode di Francesco Sforza, e aggiunge la certezza che altre orazioni e lettere siano andate irrimediabilmente perdute⁹. In effetti la tradizione italiana del Rasini è quasi nulla, ma l'Argelati non aveva fatto i conti né con gli allievi transalpini del Rasini né col loro zelo nel raccogliere e tramandare reliquie letterarie. La lettura delle orazioni del Rasini non è esercizio inutile : lo stile commosso e le occasioni solenni cui si riferiscono spiegano perché abbiano interessato studenti in cerca di ricordi e di modelli. L'esercizio è evidente nella corrispondenza, per tanti versi simile, quantunque meno fortunata, alla raccolta di lettere modello composta da

Gasparino Barzizza : i riferimenti concreti restano costantemente sottintesi, prevale l'espressione d'ordine generale, la formula cioè, e di qui la facile ricettività ed applicabilità nell'imitazione. Dalle epistole del Rasini esce fuori a chiare lettere almeno un nome di transalpino probabilmente suo allievo, Lorenz Schaller, che non era ad ogni buon conto l'unico¹⁰ ; un secondo, Peter von Linz, fu onorato dal Rasini con una lunga orazione. Di altri, Johannes Zeller ad esempio, possiamo affermare, senza dubbi o quasi, che furono negli stessi anni alla scuola di Baldassarre, il quale si gloria in una lettera di avere ben 60 studenti alle lezioni¹¹. A queste 60 persone occorrerebbe dare un nome per seguirle nella vita postaccademica. Che molti, se non la maggioranza, non fossero italiani si può affermare come assai probabile : nella corrispondenza corsa tra il Rasini e gli ufficiali ducali a proposito di un aumento di stipendio, che non fu concesso, le lezioni del retore sono elencate tra i motivi che conducono i transalpini a Pavia, alcuni dei quali avrebbero dichiarato di trovarle addirittura superiori alla fama, e quindi aver provveduto ad attirare a Pavia conterranei scesi in Italia per gli studi accademici, ma che non avevano ancora scelto l'Università cui iscriversi¹².

Peter von Linz proveniva da famiglia potente in Renania nelle cose della chiesa e in quelle dello stato¹³ ; alle sue spalle, e il Rasini non manca di sottolinearlo, lo zio Tilmannus, noto agli storici dell'arte per la bella pala d'altare regalata alla 'Kapelle auf dem Markte' di Linz am Rhein e conservata ora nella chiesa parrocchiale cattolica di detta città¹⁴. Tilmannus, 'decretorum doctor', era prevosto di S. Fiorino a Coblenza e decano di Sant'Andrea a Colonia, fu cancelliere dell'arcivescovo di Treviri e consigliere di quello di Colonia, partecipò attivamente al Concilio di Basilea : Johannes di Segovia infatti non manca di ricordare una 'honesto oracio' pronunciata dal 'Praepositus Sancti Florini' sulla questione della traslazione del Concilio. Il 6 marzo 1445, vigilia di S. Tommaso, 'post missam ad Augustinenses celebratam', Tilmannus fu eletto rettore dell'Università di Colonia. Trovare in Italia il nipote di un ecclesiastico in posizione così elevata nel mondo accademico tedesco, è un segno dei tempi e l'espressione di una opzione culturale discendente non solo dalla convinzione della superiorità scientifica delle scuole di giurisprudenza italiane, ma anche dall'accettazione del principio che giurista ed 'orator' non sono affatto termini antitetici, anzi il giurista passando all'attività pratica di governo, dovrà quotidianamente fare i conti coll'arte del dire. Per comune opinione dei contemporanei, a cominciare dal Valla, chi a Pavia meglio sapeva unire alle conoscenze giuridiche l'acume filologico nell'affrontare il testo ed una compiuta arte oratoria era Catone Sacco. Il valore letterario delle orazioni del Sacco, anche di quelle inaugurali, mi sembra discutibile ; fuori dubbio restano invece sia le sue ottime relazioni colla 'Natio germanica' pavese, coronate dalla fondazione per disposizione testamentaria di un collegio per transalpini dei paesi tedeschi (che non ebbe lunga vita), sia la stima degli studenti per il giurista : vari scritti del Sacco sopravvivono in tradizione studentesca e transalpina, e agli stessi codici dove troviamo opere del Rasini, è raccomandata l'esistenza della prima e seconda parte del *Semideus* del Sacco credute disperse, e, fatto altrettanto sintomatico,

della tradizione pavese della *Cauteraria* di Antonio Barzizza, una commedia per la cui sopravvivenza era stata esclusa la corresponsabilità dell'Ateneo lombardo¹⁵.

Anche Iohannes Roth, teorico dell'opposizione e dell'incompatibilità di giurisprudenza e retorica, o almeno della superiorità della seconda sulla prima, dovette lentamente fare i conti colla realtà e rientrare, dopo l'esperienza filologica della scuola del Valla e dopo l'impegno pratico nella cancelleria di Ladislao Postumo, nel solco dal quale si era un po' baldanzosamente allontanato lasciando la scuola giuridica padovana per ascoltare le lezioni di Lorenzo Valla. Meglio delle astratte formulazioni varrà però la pena nel caso di Iohannes Roth attenerci ai concreti dati biografici e ai prodotti della sua penna, nel decennio 1450-1460 più numerosi di quanto comunemente si creda.

Due orazioni, quella di Francesco Barozzi, veneziano divenuto poi vescovo di Treviso ed impiegato della Curia romana, per l'elezione del Roth a rettore dell'Università padovana dei giuristi, e quella del professore Giangiacomo Can per la licenza in canonico del medesimo, edita la seconda¹⁶, inedita invece la prima, ma letta attentamente da Gianni Zippel nella trascrizione che ne fece a Padova Hartmann Schedel¹⁷, concordano in sostanza nel racconto del tentativo del Roth di iniziare gli studi a Padova e della successiva fuga a Roma presso il Valla: da questa città l'umanista tedesco, ormai sulla trentina, corrispondeva nel 1452 con Ludwig Rad, dimostrandosi in contatto col circolo umanistico viennese¹⁸, e polemizzava nel 1454 con Gregor Heimburg sul valore della giurisprudenza e sui rapporti con la retorica¹⁹; alle sue spalle, a guidarlo, il Valla, il quale "rogatus obtestatusque ab amicis ut de hoc iuvene sententiam diceret, doleo, inquit, hanc laudem oratoriam quam sibi Italia peculiariter vendicarat, ab hoc iuvene ita comparatam ut Germania ipsam valeat cum Italia communicare atque equa lance partiri"²⁰. Le parti note dello scambio epistolare e polemico tra Gregor Heimburg ed il Roth presuppongono una corrispondenza già avviata della quale credo d'aver rintracciato un anello in un manoscritto ora a Stoccarda. La lettera, copiata da Ludwig Bertalot e inserita nel fascicolo di appunti sul Roth conservato, col resto degli autografi dello studioso, presso la Biblioteca Universitaria di Francoforte sul Meno, porta la firma del mittente, ma non il nome del destinatario²². Nemmeno il Bertalot sembra essersi interessato, almeno stando agli appunti che mi sono capitati sotto gli occhi, a cercarne il nome, a mio avviso identificabile senza esitazione alcuna con quello di Gregor Heimburg. Potrà sembrare esagerato perdere tempo per compiere operazioni di questo genere, più simili al lavoro di chi colleziona francobolli che corrispondentialle vere esigenze della storia culturale dell'Umanesimo tedesco, se non fosse vero che gli umanisti tedeschi degli anni tra il 1440 e il 1460 oltre che essere pochi, hanno anche scritto poco: di questo poco, sotto il pretesto dell'inutilità dello studio dei predecessori, è stato pubblicato ancor meno²³. Il dibattito sul rapporto della giurisprudenza colla retorica giunse solo lentamente, per gradi e di lettera in lettera, alla posizione nettamente polemica (che però non

ha il tono di invettiva di molte polemiche italiane) quale ci è testimoniata nelle sezioni stampate in appendice al libro di Paul Joachimsohn ; in origine esso non è che parte di uno scambio d'opinioni di un umanista più giovane, il Roth, che dalla buona specola della capitale della cristianità informa il lontano, più anziano e, al di là delle Alpi, noto e stimato statista, su avvenimenti politici di cui in periferia arrivava un'eco tarda e spesso poco precisa. Infatti dalla nuova lettera del Roth allo Heimburg apprendiamo che ad iniziare la corrispondenza era stato il Roth, con un gesto che nella storia dell'Umanesimo si ripete infinite volte : l'invio della lettera alla personalità di posizione sociale o letteraria elevata da parte del principiante. L'epistola conteneva la narrazione della congiura di Stefano Porcari ; Gregor Heimburg vi rilevò immediatamente un troppo scoperto imprestito da fonti classiche : lo statista preferiva evidentemente la concreta informazione sui fatti veramente accaduti allo svuotamento di essi in un frasario sallustiano per rendere il quale aderente alla realtà ci sarà bisogno del Poliziano. La risposta del Roth, la nuova lettera cioè, prende le mosse dalle osservazioni di ordine formale e stilistico avanzate da Gregor Heimburg e per una buona metà dibatte il problema dell'imitazione e dell'imprestito, con abbondanza di citazioni di testi classici e con un riconoscimento senza limitazioni del ruolo di guida culturale spettante allo Heimburg in Germania. La seconda parte della lettera, un quarto circa, è dedicata ad informazioni su avvenimenti italiani : la legazione del cardinale Domenico Capranica alla Repubblica di Genova, la raccolta dei fondi per la guerra contro il Turco, la presenza a Roma degli ambasciatori degli stati italiani per trattare la pace ed una lega. Solo verso la fine e in maniera molto rapida, si sente parlare di giurisprudenza : per scritto e a voce, tramite amici e parenti, Gregor Heimburg ha esortato più volte il Roth allo studio del diritto civile ; la risposta di Iohannes Roth è molto semplice : non rifiuterà certo il consiglio del *'totius Germanie decus et ornamentum'*, al momento però ha altri pensieri, inoltre è convinto con Columella che le città possano vivere anche senza giuristi, e teme che l'abbondanza di cultori del diritto possa qualche volta essere causa di rovina per lo stato, essendo le opinioni loro spesso contrastanti e discordi. La citazione di Columella fa rientrare il discorso nel binario iniziale del rapporto col mondo classico. Solo la nota replica dello Heimburg alla lettera precedente, controbattuta punto per punto, amplia la questione, ma non solo della giurisprudenza, bensì anche del rapporto colle fonti classiche : il Roth replicherà a sua volta limitandosi alla giurisprudenza e attenuando di molto, alla fine del movimentato scritto, la veemenza delle argomentazioni con un appello alle consuetudini delle esercitazioni. Se si tiene conto del punto di partenza, la prima delle lettere conservate, lo smorzamento che si rivela alla fine diventa tanto più vero quanto forte continuava ad essere la posizione sociale dello Heimburg e molto meno quella del Roth. Dunque una demitizzazione di questa famosissima polemica tra un convertito alle consuetudini letterarie italiane ed il futuro avversario di Pio II e Nicolò da Cusa ? Forse demitizzazione no, gli argomenti tanto valliani avanzati dal Roth contro i commentatori medievali e i

compilatori del *Digesto* non possono certo essere allontanati dalle argomentazioni dello studente romano: il ripiego finale però su forme dell'esercitazione nelle scuole porta certo ad indebolirli. Merita invece forse che si parli di demitizzazione a proposito di un dato biografico apparentemente così solido, cioè l'abbandono dell'Università di Padova da parte di Iohannes Roth per andare a Roma a completare presso il Valla l'educazione retorica. Francesco Barozzi, che espressamente fa il nome di Padova come della prima scuola superiore italiana frequentata dal Roth, non ebbe il compito facile nel far entrare la biografia giovanile del Roth e le vicende della famiglia del neorettore nello schema consueto delle orazioni per l'occasione; dovendo, secondo la consuetudine, lodare la nobiltà della famiglia e d'altra parte essendo un fatto innegabile che il Roth non solo non era di famiglia nobile, ma era figlio di uno 'Schuhmachermeister'²⁴, trova salvezza spiegando che in Italia si diventa nobili non abitando negli erti manieri, ma partecipando attivamente alla vita politica della città. La spiegazione è molto bella e su bocca veneziana più che comprensibile, ma non riesce a nascondere l'imbarazzo dell'oratore perché, nonostante tutta la buona volontà del Barozzi, l'attività politica del patriziato veneziano, classe di mercanti, navigatori e affaristi, non è certo avvicinabile a quel tanto di intervento negli affari interni della città permesso ai Roth in Wemding, oggi e allora niente più di un paesotto svevo, a parte qualche notevole edificio. Che dunque l'abbandono della scuola giuridica per correre a sentire il Valla possa contenere una parte di esagerazione e nascondere altri motivi, potrebbe essere sospettato, quantunque non provato. Certo a Roma il Roth non fu solo allievo del più grande filologo allora vivente, ma anche impiegato in Curia²⁵, e d'altro canto non intrattenne relazioni epistolari solo coi circoli di Norimberga e Vienna, ma cercò di allacciare contatti col mondo umanistico romano e italiano. L'impiego in Curia è ricordato nella seconda lettera allo Heimbürg e meravaglia che non sia stato debitamente rilevato²⁶: discepolato presso il Valla e un mestiere per campare si integrano benissimo, e molto più se si tiene presente quanto vasto sia il significato del termine scolaro. Le relazioni umanistiche saltano fuori da un gruppo di lettere, al solito inedite, ma già segnalate, indirizzate a vari personaggi del mondo curiale e culturale romano e scritte tutte nel 1451²⁷. Un confronto stilistico tra queste lettere e la corrispondenza con lo Heimbürg, e poi ancora colla qualità del discorso, credo inedito, pronunciato dal Roth in morte del conte di Cilli²⁸ e della lettera del Roth al Piccolomini col racconto delle ultime ore di Ladislao Postumo²⁹, non lascia dubbio sul benefico effetto avuto dalla permanenza a Roma. Se dopo la promozione accademica padovana la via imboccata dal Roth non fu quella della letteratura, ma quella della politica a servizio dell'Impero e della Chiesa, l'esperienza italiana non fu dimenticata e gli umanisti che più tardi vissero attorno a Giovanni, quarto vescovo di Breslavia con tale nome, non mancarono di sottolinearlo: il canonico Stanislaus Saurus, anch'egli studente a Padova, elencherà fra i titoli di gloria del suo vescovo i rapporti col Valla, il Filelfo, Poggio e Guarino³⁰; Augustinus Moravus dedicherà, sintomaticamente ancora, al vescovo Roth il *Dialogus in*

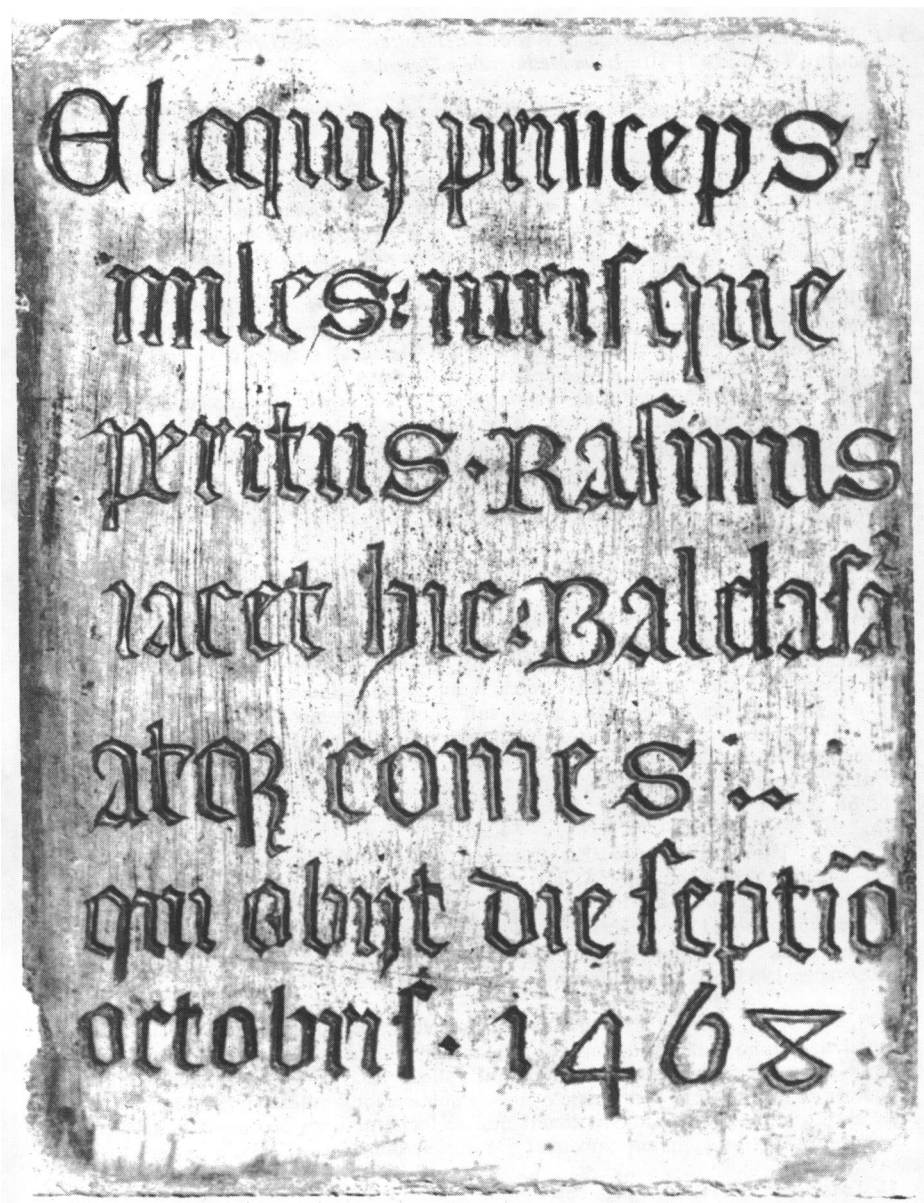
defensionem poetices e si rifarà, per giustificare la scelta, proprio alla permanenza del Roth a Padova e al suo rettorato in quel ginnasio “ex quo hec nostra, quantulacumque sunt, prodire”³¹.

Per la presenza di materiale documentario di prima mano e di inediti da valorizzare, ho ritenuto opportuno insistere da un lato sulla scuola retorica del Rasini, dall'altro sull'apprendistato umanistico del Roth : ma l'Università italiana consegnò in quegli anni ai moltissimi transalpini, tedeschi in specie (quando avremo infatti una continuazione del *Codice diplomatico* pavese e degli *Acta graduum* padovani diventerà, fra l'altro, urgente la domanda sul grado di italianizzazione dei ceti dirigenti tedeschi sia ecclesiastico che profano tra il 1440 e il 1490), anche un ben altro bagaglio culturale e scientifico, in medicina e giurisprudenza, e modificò magari le abitudini non solo stilistiche, ma anche scrittorie dei transalpini in perfetta coerenza col clima umanistico : credo formulabile e difendibile l'ipotesi che il soggiorno padovano di Hartmann Schedel abbia influito non poco sulle abitudini grafiche del più famoso bibliofilo e scriba bavarese della seconda metà del '400, contribuendo forse in maniera decisiva alla formazione di quella scrittura pulita ed elegante che conosciamo da tanti codici monacensi, solo lontanissima parente della gotica da lui usata negli zibaldoni copiati negli anni universitari trascorsi a Lipsia, una scrittura impensabile senza le consuetudini scrittorie introdotte dall'Umanesimo e l'abitudine di guardare e leggere le epigrafi.

Köln, Petrarca-Institut

* Pubblico il testo della relazione letta durante il Convegno “*The Late Middle Ages and the Dawn of Humanism outside Italy*”, tenutosi a Lovanio dal 10 al 13 maggio 1970. con minime varianti e coll’aggiunta delle note. La stampa dei testi inediti citati, comprese le lettere di Iohannes Roth, è riservata all’appendice di un gruppo di studi sulla ‘Natio germanica’ delle Università di Padova e Pavia di imminente edizione. Ho creduto opportuno anticipare la stampa della lettera del Roth a Johannes Heimbürg perché l’epistola riguarda uno dei primi e più noti dibattiti letterari fra umanisti tedeschi. Il merito del ritrovamento della lettera va, credo, comunque a Ludwig Bertalot, la cui trascrizione ha reso facile il mio lavoro editoriale.

1. “Pars etenim que preceptorum est, quinquaginta rethorice artis pre se fert documenta limatissima que ex clarissimorum oratorum Gasparini Barzizii Pergamensis et Stephani Flisci Soncinensis libris recepimus accomodata...Pars autem que clausularum est in bina protendimus membra: primum quidem membrum ex predictorum Gasparini et Flisci clausolis desumpsimus... reliquum verum...ex Marci Tullii...scriptis” (*Margarita poetica*, Hain *6115, f.294rb-va). Per l’esemplare della *Margarita* autografo di Albrecht von Eyb: Gianni Zippel, *Gli inizi dell’Umanesimo tedesco e l’Umanesimo italiano, nel secolo XV*, in: *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 75 (1963), p. 376 n.l. Per Stefano Fieschi: *Cremona litterata...auctore Francisco Arisio*, I, Parma 1702, pp. 278-79; P. Ceruti, *Biografia soncinata*, Milano 1834, pp. 125-28; J. Müller, *Quellenschriften und Geschichte des deutschsprachigen Unterrichts bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Gotha 1882, pp. 230-31; P. Tedeschi, *Colonia soncinese a Servola nell’agro triestino*, in: *Archivio storico lombardo*, 18 (1891), p. 224; M. Herrmann, *Albrecht von Eyb und die Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus*, Berlin 1893, p. 179; R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Veronese*, Catania 1896, pp. 55-56; C. Jireček, *Der ragusanische Dichter Šiško Menčetić (geb. 1457 + 1527)* in: *Archiv für slawische Philologie*, 19 (1897), p. 35, p. 37, p. 38 e *Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner*, in: *Archiv für slawische Philologie*, 25 (1903), pp. 516-17; E. Bertanza-G. Dalla Santa, *Documenti per la storia della cultura in Venezia, I, Maestri e scolari in Venezia fino al 1500*, in: *Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione veneta di Storia Patria*, s.I, *Documenti*, vol. XII, Venezia 1907, p. 328, p. 329; Sabbadini, *Il metodo degli umanisti*, Firenze 1922, p. 30; A. Cronia, *Relazioni culturali tra Ragusa e l’Italia negli anni 1358-1526*, in: *Atti e memorie della società dalmata di storia patria*, 1 (1926), p. 19, p. 27; F. Lo Parco, *Tideo Acciarini umanista marchigiano del secolo XV...*, in: *Rendiconti dell’Istituto marchigiano di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 4 (1928), p. 74; *Catalogo della libreria di Giuseppe Martini compilato dal possessore, da servire come saggio per una nuova bibliografia di storia e letteratura italiana*, 1, Milano 1934, p. 123; T. Foffano, *Charles d’Orléans e un gruppo di umanisti lombardi in Normandia*, in: *Aevum*, 41 (1967), p. 454; G. Schizzerotto, in: *Annali della R. scuola superiore per archivisti e bibliotecari dell’Università di Roma*, 5 (1965), p. 228. Diffusissime in codici e stampe sono due opere del Fieschi dedicate a Giovanni Meglioranza: *Synonima verborum* e *Synonima o Variationes sententiarum*; a Ludovico Pagello, vicentino come il Meglioranza, il Fieschi dedicò le *Regule grammaticae*: codici C 15 sup. (P.O. Kristeller, *Iter italicum*, I, London e Leiden 1963, p. 297) e N 3 sup. della Biblioteca Ambrosiana; quest’ultimo con nota di possesso di Girolamo Campagnola (comunicazione di Gius. Billanovich); a Francesco Parrino da Crema il *De compositione stili adornandi*: Modena, Biblioteca Estense, codice γ t 6,26 (Kristeller, *Iter italicum*, I, p. 391).
2. P.R. Sonkowsky, *A Fifteenth-Century rhetorical opusculum*, in: *Classical, Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in honor of B.L. Ullman*, II, Roma 1964, p. 263.
3. *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 4 (1967), p. 230.
4. Codice 1879/74. Bertalot, *Eine humanistische Anthologie. Die Handschrift 4° 768 der Universitätsbibliothek München*, Berlin, Diss., 1908, pp. 84-88; Guarino, *Epistolario*, III xii.



Lapide funeraria di Baldassarre Rasini
(Pavia, Cortile dell'università).

+

*Eloquii princeps, miles, iurisque peritus,
Rasinus iacet hic Baldasar atque comes -*

*qui obiit die septimo
octobris. 1468*

5. Clm. 7612. Descrivo il codice in *I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale*, I, Padova 1971, pp. 424-30 = *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, XIII (1970), pp. 376-82.
6. W. Hammer, *Balthazar Rasinus, Italian humanist. A critical and bibliographical appraisal*, in : *Italica*, 25 (1948), p. 25.
7. Oltre alla bibliografia citata dallo Hammer : Zippel, *Gli inizi...*, p. 371 ; indicazioni anche in E. Beutler, *Forschungen und Texte zur frühhumanistischen Komödie*, Hamburg 1927, p. 33 ; J.H. Hiller, *Albrecht von Eyb medieval moralist*, Washington 1939, p. 34 ; D. Bianchi, *La lettura d'arte oratoria nello Studio di Pavia nei secoli XV e XVI*, in : *Bollettino della società pavese di storia patria*, 13 (1913), pp. 157-58 ; O. Besomi, *Codici petrarcheschi nelle biblioteche svizzere*, in : *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 8 (1965), p. 392. Di fondamentale importanza per la carriera accademica del Rasini è il *Codice diplomatico* edito dal Maiocchi e rimasto inaccessibile allo Hammer ; da esso veniamo ad esempio informati che il Rotolo per l'Anno accademico 1443-1444 prevede per il Rasini 'deputatus ad lecturam rhetoricæ' uno stipendio annuo di 300 fiorini : Francesco Oca, collega del Rasini per la stessa materia, percepiva fiorini 30. Baldassarre morì il 7 ottobre 1468, come ci insegna la sua lapide funeraria conservata nel cortile dell' Università di Pavia : v. Tavola.
8. *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium*, II i, Milano 1747, pp. 1183-84.
9. Hammer, *Balthazar Rasinus, Italian humanist...*, 20 n° 6.
10. Vat. Pal. lat. 492 ff.68v-69r : l'epistola, affidata allo Schaller divenuto 'doctor utriusque', ha come destinatario tale Pietro, già studente presso il Rasini, ma tornato in Germania. Non oso formulare ipotesi per cercare di identificare il destinatario ; preferisco, allo stato attuale della ricerca, limitarmi ad escludere dalla lista dei candidati Peter von Linz del quale si dirà più avanti ; questi proveniva infatti dalla diocesi di Colonia, mentre lo Schaller era di Norimberga. Per Lorenz Schaller : Herrmann, *Die Reception des Humanismus in Nürnberg*, Berlin 1898, pp. 6-7, 51 ; Bertalot, *Humanistisches Studienheft eines Nürnberger Scholaren aus Pavia*, Berlin 1910, pp. 8-9, 65-68.
11. Vat. Pal. lat.492 ff.67v-68v. Per Johannes Zeller, addottoratosi a Pavia nel 1447, specialmente : A. Reimann, *Die aelteren Pirkheimer*, hrsg.v. H. Rupprich, Leipzig 1944, p. 96, p. 100 ; inoltre : P. Joachimsohn, *Frühhumanismus in Schwaben*, in : *Württembergische Vierteljahreshefte für Landesgeschichte*, N.F., 5 (1896), p. 78 ; J. Authenrieth, *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek Stuttgart*, III, Wiesbaden 1963, pp. 73-74 : possessore dei mss. HB VI 77 e HB VI 78.
12. Vat. Pal. lat.492 f.57r-v : "In qua re non tu solum, sed nos eciam illud consequemur quod transalpini scholares plurimi qui ad gymnasium illud se tui potissimum causa, ut ex ipsis nonnulli sunt professi, contulerunt, allekti suavius orationis tue splendore, iudicantes se plus in re comperisse quam tui nominis fama vulgasset, gradum ipsi sistent et alios quos necdum statuisset dicunt quo se loci studiorum causa conferant, litteris evocabunt, allaturi gymnasio famam et tibi gloriam immortalem. Vale".
13. Dell'orazione del Rasini per Peter von Linz discorre con qualche imprecisione Hammer : *Balthazar Rasinus, Italian humanist...*, 19 n° 4 ; inoltre : Sottili, *I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale*. II, in : *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 11 (1968), p. 358. Per Peter von Linz : E. Friedlaender-C. Malagola, *Acta nationis germanicae universitatis Bononiensis*, Berlin 1887, p. 187, p. 188, p. 189, p. 190 ; H. Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Koeln. 1389 bis 1559*, I, Bonn 1892, p. 255 ; G.C. Knod, *Deutsche Studenten in Bologna (1289-1562)*, Bologna 1899, p. 308 ; Reimann, *Die aelteren...*, pp. 95-96.

14. Per la pala :*Herbst des Mittelalters. Spätgotik in Köln und am Niederrhein*, Köln 1970, p. 38 n° 9 e Tav.9. Per Tilmannus ad es. : Th.J.Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, IV, Düsseldorf 1858, p. 271, p. 286, pp. 299-302, pp. 318-20 ; Johannes de Segovia, *Historia gestorum generalis synodi Basiliensis*, ed. E. Birk, I, Wien 1873, p. 285, p. 357, p. 769, p. 773, p. 825, p. 842, p. 845 ; II, pp. 186-87, p. 249-50, p. 254, p. 1016 ; J. Pohl, *Koenigliches Progymnasium zu Linz am Rhein. Programm*, Linz a.Rhein 1882, p. 82 ; Keussen, *Die Matrikel...*, I, p. 119 ; *Die Stellung der Universität Köln im grossen Schisma und zu den Reformationskonzilien des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in : *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein insbesondere die alte Erzdiözese Köln*, 115 (1929), pp. 238-39 ; *Ungedruckte Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Köln aus der Zeit des grossen Schismas und der Reformationskonzilien. 1395-1448*, in : id., 116 (1930), p. 75-76 ; J. Ramakers, *Das Memorialbuch des Stiftes Kaiserswerth*, in : id., 131 (1937), p. 161 ; E. Weise, *Die Memorialen des Stiftes Xanten*, Bonn 1937, p. 15 ; A. Diederich, *Das Stift St. Florin zu Koblenz*, Göttingen 1967, p. 228 e p. 442 s.v.
15. Il *Semideus* (ne sto da tempo preparando l'edizione critica) in Arundel 138 ff.247 sgg. (*Catalogue of the manuscripts in the British Museum. New Series I i. The Arundel Manuscripts*, London 1884, 36 n° 133) e 4° C 10 ff.168r-185r della Hessische Landesbibliothek di Fulda (Sottili, *I codici ...*, II 364). La *Cauteraria* rispettivamente ai ff.366 sgg. e 23r-32r. Per Catone Saccobasti per ora il rimando a C. Colombo, *Altri inediti guariniani*, in : *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, X (1967), pp. 232-46.
16. G. Bauch, *Analekten zur Biographie des Bischofs Johann IV. Roth*, in : *Studien zur schlesischen Geschichte. Seiner Eminenz dem hochwürdigsten Fürstbischof von Breslau Herrn Georg Kardinal Kopf*, Breslau 1907, pp. 21-28.
17. *Gli inizi...*, p. 384 n.4.
18. Herrmann, *Albrecht von Eyb...*, p. 128.
19. Joachimsohn, *Gregor Heimburg*, Bamberg 1891, p. 99 ; Herrmann, *Albrecht von Eyb...*, p. 136 ; Zippel, *Gli inizi ...*, pp. 384-88.
20. Bauch, *Analekten...*, *ibid.*
21. Joachimsohn, *Gregor Heimburg*, pp. 303-16.
22. P.O. Kristeller - H.M.Goldbrunner, *Der Nachlass Ludwig Bertalots. Mit einem Verzeichnis der nachgelassenen Schriften*, in : *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 45 (1965), p. 441 : *Deutscher Humanismus. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis mit Textabschriften*.
23. Non andrà però perso di vista nel frattempo il tentativo di sistemazione storiografica fornito da H.O. Burger : *Renaissance Humanismus Reformation. Deutsche Literatur im europäischen Kontext*, Bad Homburg v.d.H., Berlin, Zürich 1969.
24. P. Ruf, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, III ii, München 1933, p. 317.
25. Ruf, *Mittelalterliche...*, III ii, p. 317.
26. "Venit nuper huc ad nos in curiam quidam..." : Joachimsohn, *Gregor Heimburg*, p. 313.
27. Joachimsohn, *Frühhumanismus...*, p. 64 n.5. *Catalogue of Additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1854-1875*, II, Londra 1877, p. 143 : Add. 25032. Il ricordato fascicolo Roth del lascito Bertalot contiene trascrizione della descrizione del *Catalogo* a stampa.

28. Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, cod.10 ff.288r-289v : H. Schmid, *Catalogus codicum Cremifaniensium*, Linz 1877-81, pp. 191-92 ; O. Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des Dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, I, Berlin 1886, p. 348 ; Herrmann, *Albrecht von Eyb* ..., p. 129.
29. S. Kaprinai, *Hungaria diplomatica*, I, Wien 1757, pp. 214-16 ; H.R.V. Zeissberg, *Der österreichische Erbfolgestreit nach dem Tode des Königs Ladislaus Postumus (1457-1458) im Lichte der habsburgischen Hausverträge*, in : *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 58 (1879), pp. 68-69 ; L. Gómez Canedo, *Don Juan de Carvajal. Un español al servicio de la Santa Sede*, Madrid 1947, p. 188.
30. H. Hoffmann-K. Engelbert, *Aufzeichnungen des Breslauer Domherrn Stanislaus Sauer (+1535) über die Bischöfe Rudholf von Rüdesheim und Johann Roth. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der Reformation in Schlesien*, in : *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte*, 13 (1955), p. 91. Per una lettera di Francesco Filelfo al Roth : Herrmann, *Albrecht von Eyb*..., p. 128. Per Stanislaus Saurus : G. Kisch, *Gestalten und Probleme aus Humanismus und Jurisprudenz. Neue Studien und Texte*, Berlin 1969, p. 141. K. Svoboda, *Il Dialogo "In difesa della poesia" di Agostino di Olomouc*, in : *Lettere italiane*, 8 (1956), pp. 34-49.
31. Bauch, *Analekten*..., p. 100.

APPENDICE

Excellentissime vir tanquam pater observande¹.

Non me fefellit in hac re mea opinio, vir doctissime, cum primum a me litteras acciperes, fore ut non solum (que tua humanitas est) vicissim responderes, sed ultro litteris me fueris lacessiturus. In qua opinione littere tue nuper ad me date plane confirmabant, quibus me nedum segnitie accusas et lentitudinis, verum etiam me egre ferre suspicaris clandestinum mutuum meum a te esse deprehensum et notatum, cum litteras de coniuratione in pontificem inita ad te exararem². Quam rem tantum abest ut moleste feram, ut etiam existimem me melius non potuisse fecisse. Is enim est fructus legendi, ut ait Macrobius³, emulari ea que in aliis probes et que maxime aliorum dicta probes, memineris in aliquem usum tuum oportuna divinatione convertere. Sic etiam Terentium comicum⁴, sic summum poetam nostrum videmus factitasse : quippe si Virgilius singula queque iussus fuerit restituere que et ab Homero, Esiodo, Theocrito et ab Ennio, Catullo, Accio et Lucretio decerpserit, divinum illud et admirandum eius opus vix lectu dignum iudicabis⁵. Quare Afranius ille togatarum scriptor in ea togata que Compitalia inscribitur non inverecunde quod plura a Menandro sumpsisset, dicitur respondisse : "Fateor, inquit, sumpsisse non ab illo modo, sed ut quisquis habuit quod conveniret mihi quodque non melius facere posse credidi". Quod si hec societas et rerum communitas poetis scriptoribusque omnibus inter se exercenda concessa est, quis fraudi homunculo mihi vertat si aut ad saginandum me aut ad excolendum quedam ab antiquioribus et probatioribus sim mutuatus⁶? Equidem tirunculus adhuc etsi feroculus, ut ait in Commentariis Cesar⁷, nondum tota acie aut tumultuaria pugna didici preliari neque filius familias etiam adeo suppellectilem et copiosam et splendidam comparavi ut apud quemvis hospitem meas opes possim ostentare. Tibi hoc munus relinquo obeundum qui omnibus, ubicunque de prestantia fuerit certandum, sis facile anteponendus. Sed hec alias uberius a me exprimentur quando totam nostram Alamanniam ob collata in te

1. cum primum : ut cum primum S ;

7. exararem : exorarem S.

8. ut : at S.

10. dicta : dictu S, dicta Macr. ;

14. Theocrito : Theodoro S ; Ennio : Emio S, Ennio B ; Catullo : Accio : Actio S ; Actio S ;

16. togatarum : togatorum S, togatarum Macr. ; in ea togata : iura cogitata S, in ea togata Macr. ;

22. si aut : si autem S, si aut B.

23. mutuatus : mutatus S ;

27. munus : minus S ;

beneficia et ornamenta sempiternas gratias agere debere aut aliis
persuadebo aut ipse ingenue profitebor ; “nempe veritas, inquit deliciae
mee Lactantius⁸, cogente natura etiam ab invitis pectoribus erumpit”.
Ceterum ne a pristina tua < amicitia > destituisse viderer, ais te non
laccessitum putare si vicissim huiusmodi stimulos in te egerim. Facessat, 35
facessat, inquam, a me machinatio tam nepharii sceleris ut me hoc
parricidio contaminer et in litterarum omnium parentem quicquam
dixerim preter eius dignitatem. Num me ab omni humanitate
abdicaret ? An non et insanire et desipere viderer ? An non
verissimum stultitiae testimonium de me preberem ? Sed hec satis. 40

Nova quae apud nos aguntur nulla sunt quae magnopere existimes
cognoscenda. Expectatur cottidie cardinalis Firmanus ad Ianuenses
legatus designatus, qui eos bello intestino flagrantibus dicitur invicem
composuisse, qui non parum presidii navalis ad profligandum vires 45
Turcorum possunt conferre, utpote qui olim soli Turco bellum inferre
consueverunt⁹. Quindecim equidem longas et onerarias naves se
instruere velle pollicentur cum compluribus aliis minoribus et
actuariis¹⁰. Multum, mihi crede, hec valebunt ad impugnandum hostem
Christi. Triremes tres cum duabus navibus paulo ante instructas
pontifex in mare deduxit exploratrices reliquae molis incipiente per 50
Turcum¹¹. Undique in Italiam collectores missi sunt pro exigenda
pecunia quae ex impositis decimis veniunt (*sic* !). Colligenda
sublevandaque magna vis auri cogetur ex Italia¹². Si, ut ceperunt, dare
pergent, de apparatu instruendoque passagio sive expeditione magna
surgunt indicia. Si quid certius geretur, te quam primum et de minimis 55
quibusque rebus faciam certiores.

Adhuc hic apud nos sunt legati Italiae dominantium pro conficienda
pace¹³ ; nil hucusque actum est scriptum dignum. Verum ut sepe a me
et litteris et apud necessarios viros et amantissime et fidentissime coram

32 : ingenue : ingenio S, ingenue B ; inquit, deliciae mee : inquit (deliciae mee) S ;

34. Ceterum : S lettura incerta, ceterum B ; pristina : alias prestancia i.m. ;

amicitia : om. S, amicitia B ;

37. contaminer : contaminare S, contaminer B ;

43. flagrantibus : flagantes S, flagrantibus B ;

53. ceperunt : acceperunt S, coeperunt B ;

54. passagio : pessagio S, passagio B ;

57. conficienda : conspicienda S ;

contendisti, tandem ut me civili sapientie devoverem, in qua re sic velim
 accipias me neque in hac re neque in quibusque aliis tuis et
 admonitionibus et consiliis nunquam fore contumacem, tamen me
 aliquando animum in diversas partes versantem Iunii Columelle, agricolae
 eloquentissimi, in operis sui initio dictum plerumque deterret. "Nam
 sine ludicris artibus, inquit¹⁴, atque etiam sine causidicis iuris
 consultisque olim felices fuere futureque sunt urbes". Itaque
 sepe numero timere soleo ne hec plurima iurisperitorum habundantia
 aliquando urbes in ruinam deiciat propter dissonas sententias, et in
 calamitatem. Lego nunc et fere perlegi hunc Columellam : totus ipsius
 sermo est de agricultura et instituendo villico et vinitore. Deus bone,
 qui fluvius, qui torrens, qui fons eloquentie in rebus tam humilibus et
 minutis ! Audio te imitantem clarissimos priscos viros etiam aliquando
 rusticationi vacare. Relege, nam te legisse credo, queso hunc et eius de
 pascuandis¹⁵ sarriendisque vineis precepta imitare, neque diffido fore
 quin census tuus quem te uberrimum possidere audio, in duplo magis
 exuberet et exundet.

Vale, totius Germanie decus et ornamentum, et ad me non desinas, ut
 incepisti, rescribere. Tue nanque littere eo mihi future sunt iocundiores
 quo pluries et crebrius ad me perferentur. Dabimus et nos quoque
 operam, et aliquando fenerabunt. Et me quoniam te colo observoque
 fac quam plurimum diligas.

Rome XX Decembris LIII^{to} 16.

Tuus Iohannes Rott

67 : soleo ne : soleo nec S, soleo ne B ;
 76 : exundet : exeundet S, exundet B ;
 80 : et aliquando : ut aliquando S ;
 82 : LIII : LIXIII S.

NOTE

1. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB VIII Philol. 13 ff.141v-142r (=S) col titolo : *Eppistola familiaris Johannis Rot pulchra*. Per la copia Bertalot (=B) si veda a n.22. Ludwig Bertalot studiò ripetutamente il ms. e ancora nel gennaio 1954 chiedeva alla Landesbibliothek di Stoccarda informazioni sul *De compositione* di Mario Rufo trasmesso ai ff.335r- 337v del codice in questione e ai ff.194v-200v di HB XII 4 della stessa biblioteca ; ricavò la notizia da lettera della Württembergische Landesbibliothek unita al fascicolo *Handschriftenbeschreibungen Stuttgart* del lascito : Kristeller-Goldbrunner, *Der Nachlass...*, p. 439. Nel pubblicare la lettera ho adottato l'ortografia del ms. senza restituire i dittonghi, nonostante compaia una volta forse una e caudata (Multum, mihi crede, hec...), optando però sempre per la forma 'mihi', per l'uso classico del nesso ti ; scioglio con riferimento al *tanquam* di riga 1, in *ubicunque, nunquam, plerunque* e *nanque* le relative abbreviazioni ; scrivo *opinio, Afranius, fateor, pecunia, pace, Thurcorum peccunia*, rispettivamente per *oppinio, Affranius, ffateor, peccunia, pacce, Turcorum pecunia*.
2. La congiura di Stefano Porcari, il quale fu impiccato il 9 gennaio 1453 : R. Cessi, *Saggi romani*, Roma 1965, p. 128.
3. *Sat.* VI 1,2 : *hunc esse fructum legendi, aemulari ea quae in aliis probes, et quae maxime inter aliorum dicta mireris in aliquem usum tuum opportuna derivatione convertere.*
4. *Ter., Andr., Prol.*, 18-21.
5. *Macr., Sat.* V 2,4 : *Dicturumne me putatis ea quae vulgo nota sunt, quod Theocritum sibi fecerit pastoralis operis auctorem, ruralis Hesiodum...* ; *Sat.* V 2,6 : *Iam vero Aeneis ipsa nonne ab Homero quis mutuata est errorem primum ex Odyssea, deinde ex Iliade pugnas ?* Imprestiti e imitazioni di Virgilio da Ennio, Lucrezio, Catullo e Accio elenca il libro VI dei *Saturnali*.
6. *Macr., Sat.* VI 1,4-5 : *Afranius enim togatarum scriptor in ea togata quae Compitalia inscribitur, non invecunde respondens arguentibus quod plura sumpsisset a Menandro, fateor inquit,*

sumpsi non ab illo modo
sed ut quisque habuit conveniret quod mihi
quod me non posse melius facere credidi,
etiam a Latino.

quod si haec societas et rerum communio poetis scriptoribusque omnibus inter se exercenda concessa est, quis fraudi Virgilio vertat, si ad excolendum se quaedam ab antiquioribus mutuatus sit ?
7. *Bell. Afr.* 16,1.
8. *Divin. inst.*, II 1, 7-8 (CSEL, XIX 96).
9. Il cardinal Domenico Capranica venne inviato da Niccolò V a Genova per comporre le contese sorte fra il doge Pietro Campofregoso e Giovanni Filippo Fieschi, il quale era sostenuto da Ludovico, cugino del Doge e figlio di Caterina degli Ordelaffi. Sulla legazione e sugli sforzi del cardinale per ottenere rinforzi per la guerra contro i Turchi : M. Morpurgo-Castelnuovo, *Il cardinal Domenico Capranica*, in : *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 52 (1929), p. 57 sgg. Per il Capranica : R. Avesani, *Per la biblioteca di Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini vescovo di Pienza*, in : *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant VI*, Città del Vaticano 1964, p. 16, pp. 22-25.

10. Prima dell'arrivo della sentenza arbitrale di Francesco Sforza riguardo alle contese tra il Doge e Giovanni Filippo (essa giunse a Genova il 1° gennaio 1454) il Capranica aveva riunito i 40 cittadini più ricchi i quali promisero di armare una trireme (= galera ?) : Morpurgo-Castelnuovo, *Il cardinal Domenico Capranica*, p. 61.
11. Al comando di tre galere era stato spedito nel mare greco il genovese Angelo Ambrogini (L. Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, I, tr. ital. di A. Mercati, Roma 1910, p. 549) ; ad esse, piuttosto che alle 5 navi (triemi) che Niccolò V diede ordine di equipaggiare a sue spese a Venezia, penso si riferisca il Roth.
12. Sulle decime imposte da Niccolò V con bolla del 30 settembre 1453 : Pastor, *Storia...*, I, p. 550.
13. Gli inviati delle città italiane cominciarono a radunarsi a Roma verso la metà dell'ottobre del 1453 ; il 24 marzo del 1454 gli ambasciatori fiorentini partirono da Roma senza che le trattative avessero avuto esito positivo : Pastor, *Storia...*, I, pp. 560-64.
14. *De re rustica* I, Praef. 6, ed. H. Boyd Ash, London 1941 (1960³), p. 6. Per un Columella appartenuto al Roth : C.H. Rother, *Über die Büchersammlung des Bischofs Johannes Roth*, in : "Slesische Geschichts-Blätter", 1923, p. 20.
15. 'Pascuare' è registrato in Ducange, VI, Niort 1886, p. 193 s.v. Dei possedimenti terrieri di G. Heimbürg parla Joachimsohn, *Gregor Heimbürg*, p. 100.
16. La data 20 dicembre 1464 riportata dal codice non può essere accettata per i seguenti motivi : nel dicembre 1464 il Roth si trovava al servizio di Federico III : Bauch, *Analekten...*, p. 28 sgg. ; alla lettera in questione Gregor Heimbürg rispose con epistola datata 6 marzo 1454 : Joachimsohn, *Gregor Heimbürg*, p. 310 ; il cardinal Domenico Capranica risulta nell'epistola del Roth ancora assente da Roma, dove rientrò il 1° febbraio 1454 : Morpurgo-Castelnuovo, *Il cardinal Domenico Capranica*, p. 62. Dell'attività diplomatica del cardinale il Roth non sembra conoscere molti particolari ; la ripacificazione dei partiti avversi pare comunque essere ormai quasi riuscita, cosa riferibile anche al periodo anteriore al 1° gennaio 1454, quando giunse a Genova la sentenza arbitrale di Francesco Sforza riguardo alla contesa tra il doge Pietro Campofregoso e Giovanni Filippo Fieschi : Morpurgo-Castelnuovo, *Il cardinal Domenico Capranica*, p. 61. Da queste premesse risulta giustificabile una correzione di *Rome XX Decembris LXIII^{to}* in *Rome XX Decembris LIII^{to}*.

Frank Rutger Hausmann

DIE BRIEFSAMMLUNG DES KARDINALS GIACOMO AMMANNATI UND IHRE BEDEUTUNG FÜR DIE HUMANISTISCHE BRIEFLITERATUR DES QUATTROCENTO.

Die Briefe Ammannatis bilden für die Kirchengeschichte von ca. 1465 bis 1475, einen verhältnismässig begrenzten Zeitraum, eine wichtige und viel zitierte Quelle. Es gibt kaum eine Arbeit, die sich mit diesem Zeitraum befasst, in der die *Epistolae Iacobi Cardinalis Papiensis* nicht zitiert werden. Ohne viele Beispiele zu nennen, sei nur auf Ludwig von Pastors *Geschichte der Päpste* (1) verwiesen, die für viele Werke sprechen soll. An anderer Stelle haben wir uns mit der Rekonstruktion von Ammannatis Briefsammlung oder anderen Problemen (2) beschäftigt, eine Untersuchung der stilistischen und literarischen Qualität der Briefe fehlt noch. Wir wollen versuchen, diese in groben Zügen zu liefern.

Über die Person des Autors und seine Rolle für die Geschichte des Kirchenstaates braucht nicht viel gesagt zu werden. Er wurde 1422 in Villa Basilica bei Lucca geboren, ging früh nach Florenz, wo er seine klassische Bildung erhielt. 1448 kam er nach Rom, trat in die Dienste Kardinals Capranica und wurde unter Kalixt III. Apostolischer Sekretär. Unter dessen Nachfolger Pius II. begann sein Aufstieg. 1460 erhielt er das Bistum Pavia und wurde im darauf folgenden Jahr Kardinal. Unter Paul II. und Sixtus IV. schwand sein Einfluss. Als kritischer Beobachter lebte er jedoch teils in Rom, teils in Siena, bis ihn 1479 in der Nähe von Bolsena der Tod ereilte. Seine Briefe liegen in Drucken von 1506, 1521 und 1614 vor, wobei die beiden letzten Ausgaben Nachdrucke der ersten sind. Neben den hier vorliegenden lateinischen Briefen gibt es eine grosse Fülle nicht edierter Briefe, zumeist in italienischen Archiven. Ohne späteren Aufgaben vorzugreifen, sollen die grösseren Fundorte kurz beschrieben werden :

Im *Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo avanti il Principato*, finden sich 115 Briefe von Ammannati und 2 Briefe von Lorenzo de' Medici und Bernardo Cambini an ihn. Alle 115 Briefe des Kardinals sind in Volgare abgefasst. 104 sind an Lorenzo, 4 an Pietro, 2 an Giovanni di Cosimo, 2 an die Domini de Banco de Medici und 1 an Cosimo gerichtet. Es handelt sich fast ausnahmslos um

Empfehlungsschreiben und Bittbriefe für Freunde oder Ergebnisadressen. Politische Gegenstände werden kaum berührt. Im *Archivio di Stato di Siena* finden sich 75 Briefe an den Concistoro, die mit 5 Ausnahmen in Volgare gehalten sind. Auch hier sind die meisten Briefe Empfehlungsbriefe (so für Giacomo Notara, Lodovico Teixeira, Giacomo und Andrea Piccolomini, Giovanni Penso, um nur die interessantesten zu nennen), doch haben einige allgemeinen politischen Inhalt und sind interessanter als die Florentiner Briefe. Das liegt daran, dass Ammannati senesisches Bürgerrecht besass und durch Pius II. besonders eng mit der Stadt verbunden war. Allerdings beruft er sich einmal darauf, dass Kardinal Francesco Todeschini regelmässig aus Rom Bericht erstatte und er somit davon entbunden sei. Die politischen Briefe berühren meist den Streit zwischen den Einwohnern von Foiano und Lucignano, in dem Ammannati vermittelt hatte.- Aus *Lucca* sind nur wenige Briefe von Ammannati erhalten. In einer fortlaufenden Abschrift des Staatsarchivs (A.T.L. 532, ff.7^v - 18) sind 25 Briefe aus der Korrespondenz Ammannatis mit den Anzianen erhalten. Der erste Brief datiert vom 16.2.1474, der letzte vom 28.8.1479. Darunter sind 7 Briefe von Ammannati in Volgare, die restlichen Briefe der Anzianen in Latein. Diese Briefe sind in den *Regesti di Lucca* beschrieben (3). Im gleichen Archiv liegen noch vier weitere Briefe der Anzianen aus dem Jahr 1466 und ein Original-Brief Ammannatis in Volgare vom 20.6.1467. Alle sind ausschliesslich von Interesse für die Stadtgeschichte Luccas.- Das *Staatsarchiv Mailand* besitzt in der *Colezione Autografi* 24 Briefe ; 18 sind an Galeazzo Maria, 4 davon auch an Bona di Savoia, 2 an Cicco Simonetta, je 1 an N. de Salandis, Bianca Maria, Cristoforo Pratella und Papst Sixtus IV. gerichtet. Auch sie sind mit Ausnahme des letzten Briefes in Volgare. Es handelt sich um Ergebnisadressen oder Schreiben, in denen Fragen von Ammannatis Bistum verhandelt werden. Ab und an finden sich auch politische Informationsberichte, in welchen Ammannati aus Rom an den Mailändischen Hof berichtet, um seine Ergebnis zu beweisen (4).- In der *Florentiner Nationalbibliothek* bewahrt der *Fondo Ginori Conti* 7 Briefe an den Kanzler Niccolò Michelozzi in Volgare und 1 lateinischen Brief an Gentile Becchi auf. Die Briefe an den Kanzler sind ebenfalls Empfehlungsbriefe mit der Begründung, dass Lorenzo de' Medici zu viel zu tun habe und er ihn nicht stören wolle.- Im *Archivio di Stato Estense* zu *Modena*, *Carteggio con Principi Esteri*, *Roma*, *Cardinali*, werden 10 Briefe in Volgare, davon 9 an Ercole I. und 1 an Eleonora d'Este, aufbewahrt. Auch hier haben wir es nur mit Ergebnisadressen und Empfehlungsbriefen zu tun.- Die *Biblioteca Civica di Trieste*, *Cod.II 45*, enthält 6 Briefe, zumeist Empfehlungsbriefe, an den Concistoro von Siena.- Das *Archivio Gonzaga* in *Mantua*, *Serie E*, *Busta 843* und *846* bewahrt nur 3 Briefe in Volgare an Lodovico Gonzaga auf. - In der *Biblioteca Piancastelli* zu *Forlì* werden entgegen Kristellers Beschreibung nur 2 Briefe in Volgare, 1 an Francesco Sforza. 1 unadressierter, aufbewahrt. - Eine der reichsten Quellen, in jedem Fall die interessanteste, besitzt das *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* mit *Arm.*,39, t.10. der bereits ausführlich analysiert wurde. Hinzu treten zahlreiche Einzelstücke, die an anderer Stelle besprochen

würden (5). Der Vollständigkeit halber sei noch der Empfehlungsbrief für Leodrisio Crivelli an Francesco Sforza im *Cod.Ital.1590, f.337* der *Pariser Nationalbibliothek* genannt (6). Als Ergebnis lässt sich festhalten, dass die zahlreichen ungedruckten Briefe in Volgare abgefasst sind. Dieses Phänomen wollen wir im folgenden näher untersuchen.

Ma a questo punto, con l'età di Lorenzo, il discorso ci porta necessariamente gli epistolari in volgare che si articolano tutti negli anni fra il '60 e il finir del secolo. Del fenomeno della prosa volgare non occorre qui ripetere quel che maestri come Spongano, Kristeller, Migliorini, Folena e Dionisotti hanno insegnato a tutti noi. Sta di fatto che, nella sezione epistolare, all'umanistico rifiuto di trasferire in pagine letterariamente scritte un linguaggio parlato, si contrappone la tendenza ad accettare l'esistenza irriducibile del volgare e a usare il linguaggio parlato come mezzo di comunicazione anche nella corrispondenza. (7)

Mit diesen Worten fasst Maria Luisa Doglio das Ergebnis eines langen Streites zwischen Latein und Volgare in der Mitte des Quattrocento zusammen. Das hier Gesagte gilt jedoch vor allem für Florenz, das eine besondere Entwicklung durchgemacht hatte. Es ist zuerst festzuhalten, dass das Latein vom 13. bis zum 19. Jhdt. als zweite Literatursprache in Italien überlebt hat, ja sogar zeitweise die Volkssprache ganz in den Hintergrund drängte. Nur in Florenz begann schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jhdts. eine volkssprachliche Literatur, die sich immer weiter entwickelte. Das Wirken Dantes, der gleich zu Beginn volkssprachlichen Dichtens einen Höhepunkt bedeutet, sagt noch nichts über die Qualität der Volkssprache aus. Von seinem *volgare illustre* (*De vulg. eloquentia* I 13 ff. ; II 1), einer Gemeinsprache für Prosa, Poesie und Alltag, einer toskanischen Koine, sind wir noch weit entfernt.

Für das 15.Jhdt., in welchem der nach der Klassik orientierte Humanismus seinen Höhepunkt erreichte, nimmt man allgemein an, dass die Fortentwicklung der volkssprachlichen Literatur sehr gehemmt wurde. P.O. Kristeller hat aber glaubhaft nachgewiesen, dass die toskanischen Humanisten fast ausnahmslos einen Teil ihrer Produktion in der Volkssprache abfassten oder lateinische Werke übersetzen liessen (8). Dies Volgare was allerdings noch Toskanisch und nicht in Italien allgemein verständlich.

Werfen wir noch einen kurzen Blick auf die Gründe, die dazu führten, dass das Volgare im Florenz des 15.Jhdts. seine Stellung immer weiter ausbauen konnte. Ein wichtiger Grund neben der Tatsache, dass das Florentinische von allen italienischen Dialekten dem Latein am ähnlichsten ist, ist darin zu sehen, dass die drei bedeutendsten Vertreter der italienischen Literatur, die *tre corone fiorentine*, Dante, Petrarca und Boccaccio, in toskanischer Mundart geschrieben hatten. So schien Florenz prädestiniert, Latein und Volgare miteinander zu versöhnen. Den entscheidenden Anstoss hierzu boten die aussenpolitischen

Schwierigkeiten, denen Florenz um die Wende vom Trecento zum Quattrocento ausgeliefert war. Im Jahr 1402, als Florenz als einzige Stadt Italiens allein gegen Giangaleazzo Visconti von Mailand stand und auf wunderbare Weise gerettet wurde, vollzog sich die Wende zu einem *Civic humanism* (wir schliessen uns in diesem Punkte der Argumentation Hans Barons an (9)). Es ist dies eine Verquickung von Bürgergeist und Patriotismus, die die Republik gerettet haben, und von klassisch orientiertem Humanismus. Die Geschichte und das Geschick von Florenz, seine territoriale und ökonomische Expansion, seine Verfassung und Literatur rücken in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses. Als sich die Katastrophe von 1402 ab 1420 von Neuem abzeichnete, erhielt diese Denkweise erneut starken Auftrieb. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch der von L.B. Alberti 1441 initiierte *Certame coronario* zu sehen, der den Zweck verfolgen sollte, das Volgare gesellschaftsfähig zu machen. Unsere Behauptung eines Zusammenhangs zwischen den Kriegen mit Mailand und einer grossen Verbreitung der Volkssprache ist nicht aus der Luft gegriffen. So sagt z.B. eine zeitgenössische Quelle über den *Certame coronario* :

Die Stadt Florenz hatte mehrere Jahre lang ununterbrochen durch die dauernden Kriege gegen den Herzog Philipp Maria von Mailand Leiden und Beschwerlichkeiten durchgemacht, und diese waren noch nicht ganz vorüber, als Messer Batista degli Alberti und Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, weitsichtige Leute, Freunde und Förderer ihrer Vaterstadt, den derzeitigen Behörden der Universität vorschlugen, um die schwer getroffenen Bürger aufzuheitern...,

einen Dichterwettstreit in italienischer Sprache auszurufen (10). Das Volgare war jedoch noch nicht so weit entwickelt, dass es sich vom Latein emanzipiert hatte. Der *Certame coronario* scheiterte auch deshalb, weil die vorgetragenen Kompositionen zu sehr antiken Vorbildern verhaftet und keine ausgereiften volkssprachlichen Dichtungen waren (11). In diesem Zusammenhang ist des weiteren *la prima grammatica della lingua volgare*, die sog. Vatikanische Grammatik, zu sehen, die sich von Grammatiken des Cinquecento, die grösstenteils an den Trecentisten orientiert sind, unterscheidet, indem sie nämlich den *uso vivo della lingua* wiedergibt (12). In der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts zeigt sich Lorenzo il Magnifico trotz seiner humanistischen Erziehung als grösster Förderer der Volkssprache, die allerdings in vielen Punkten zugunsten des Lateins modifiziert wurde (13). Das Latein bleibt zwar die Sprache der Humanisten, das Volgare nimmt jedoch einen immer weiteren Raum in Verwaltung, Alltag, Handel und Verkehr ein. Selbst für die Briefe, die lange Zeit nur in Latein abgefasst wurden und zumeist Kunstbriefe waren, wird das Volgare erlaubt. Gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts schreibt Cristoforo Landino ein Ercole d'Este gewidmetes Werk : *Formulario di lettere et di Orationi volgare con le proposte et risposte*, eine *ars dictaminis* des Volgare. Hier wird auch auf die politische Bedeutung des Volgare hingewiesen. Landino zieht einen interessanten Vergleich. Das römische Reich hatte zwei Staatsschriftsteller, Cicero und Vergil, die an seinem Aufstieg lebhaften Anteil hatten. Als die Sprache verfiel, kam die

Völkerwanderung. Er sieht also in der Sprache ein einendes Element für ein Volk. Diese Eigenschaft erkennt er dem Latein für seine Zeit nicht mehr zu (14). Diese Auffassung konnte nur in einer Umgebung zustandekommen, in der das Latein schon seinen Platz als Staatssprache eingebüsst hatte oder dabei war, ihn zu verlieren, nämlich nur in Florenz. Wenn Landino dieses *formulario* schreibt, so weil eine Lücke entstanden war, die für das Latein nicht bestand, wo es genügend Vorbilder gab. Das Mittelalter hatte seine Formelbücher, um für jeden Fall das rechte Vorbild zu liefern, das italienisch sprechende Quattrocento natürlich nicht. So finden sich all die Fälle, die man früher auf Latein abhandelte (Verkehr mit der Kanzlei und hohen Persönlichkeiten in der Hauptsache), jetzt auf Italienisch. Die politische Absicht ist natürlich nicht zu verkennen. In der Rechtsprechung war schon seit 1414 in Florenz die Volkssprache vorgeschrieben, in der Staatskanzlei setzte sich das Volgare allerdings nur langsam durch (15).

Ausserhalb von Florenz lag die Situation immer anders, weil der jeweilige Dialekt nicht die Bedeutung des Florentinischen hatte und es keine Schriftsteller von Rang gab. Es ist einleuchtend, dass im überregionalen Verkehr wegen der besseren Verständlichkeit das Latein als Schriftsprache verwendet wurde. Bei den Humanisten war darüber hinaus das Latein das Band, das die italienische Nation zusammenhielt und ihr den - kulturellen - Vorrang vor den anderen Völker sicherte. Nur so ist Vallas berühmter Ausspruch in den *Elegantiarum libri* zu verstehen.

Gegen Ende des Quattrocento lässt sich aber beobachten, dass auch ausserhalb von Florenz immer mehr Gebildete sich der Volkssprache bedienen, z.B. Filelfo, der auch nach seinem Fortgang von Florenz Briefe in *toscano* schrieb (16). Hiermit wird eine Entwicklung eingeleitet, die im Cinquecento vollendet wurde, die Herausbildung *d'una lingua prosastica letteraria comune per tutta l'Italia e basata sul toscano*. Diese Toskanisierung des Italienischen ist noch nicht ganz genau untersucht, lässt sich aber für viele Gegenden Italiens nachweisen, vor allem für die Signorien, von Florenz über Neapel bis hin zu den Sforza in Mailand oder, wie jüngst nachgewiesen wurde, im römischen Dialekt (17). Das Volgare konnte diesen Platz nur deshalb erringen, weil es durch die Toskanisierung vereinheitlicht und allgemein verständlich wurde und damit das Latein als Koine ersetzt:

L'italiano, sia pure nelle sue diverse coloriture, sostituisce pienamente il latino nelle comunicazioni quotidiane fra tutta l'Italia; e le nuove signorie, in genere di tradizione recente, favoriscono, da Firenze a Napoli a Milano, questo sviluppo del volgare. E così che nella storia della lingua non solo letteraria il Quattrocento, proprio attraverso un giuoco e un provvisorio equilibrio di contrasti, pone le basi di una storia linguistica unitaria. (18)

Wir haben diesen Sachverhalt ausführlich geschildert, um zu zeigen, welchen Platz das Volgare im Quattrocento einnimmt. Ammannati hatte die wichtigsten Jahre seiner Ausbildung in Florenz verlebt, wo er als Hauslehrer und junger Professor in den humanistisch gesinnten Kreisen verkehrt hatte, aber auch mit den ersten Bestrebungen der mündig werdenden Volkssprache in Berührung gekommen war. Des weiteren werden wir mit der Tatsache konfrontiert, dass er viele Briefe in Volgare schreibt. Für die Humanisten, mochten sie auch noch so volgarefreundlich sein, war das Latein nach wie vor die Sprache, in der die gelehrte Korrespondenz und die wissenschaftliche und literarische Produktion, soweit sie an ein humanistisches Publikum gerichtet waren, abgefasst wurden. Wäre dem nicht so, dürften wir den Terminus Humanist nicht mehr verwenden, der ursprünglich den Lehrer des Lateinischen und Griechischen meinte (19), später den Gelehrten überhaupt, der sich mit den *humanitates*, der lateinischen und griechischen Literatur des Altertums, intensiv befasste.

Ammannati war von Florenz und florentinischem Geistesleben stark geprägt, aber seine literarische Produktion fällt doch fast ausschliesslich in die Zeit seines Aufenthalts an der Kurie, in welcher er selber kuriale und kirchliche Ämter bekleidete. Schon deshalb nimmt das Latein einen vorrangigen Platz in seiner Korrespondenz ein, allerdings räumt er in einer hoch rhetorischen Briefstelle ein, dass er durch seine Tätigkeit als Sekretär an der Kurie verlernt habe, ein so elegantes Latein wie vorher in Florenz zu schreiben :

Scio quam rudis sim, & quam ignarus, & quam sine ornatu. Olim forte placere de me aliquid potuit, cum nondum feces hae curiae inquinaverant stilum : sed factus in diem deterior sum, quaerens panem, abieci limam, & me in turbam coniiciens, quod non didiceram sumpsit, & quod didiceram sum coactus deponere. Secretariatus Calisti et Pii, quibus, vt plurimum bene vti non licuit, totum me immutarunt. Conor institutionem antiquam resumere, sed cursum confectum iterare iam piget. Conor, & cum ornatis redire in gratiam, sed ii me in tenebras exteriores eiciunt, quod vestem nuptialem non habeo.(20)

Was mit den *faeces curiae* genau gemeint ist, wird nicht gesagt. Wir können es jedoch erschliessen : der Sekretär musste täglich zahlreiche administrative Sachverhalte in lateinisch abgefasste Aktenstücke transponieren und hatte nicht die Zeit, an eine sorgfältige stilistische Überarbeitung zu gehen. Der Beruf trägt also die Schuld am schludrigen Latein. Jahre später schreibt er an den jungen Herzog von Aragon und angehenden Kardinal Giovanni d'Aragona, er solle sich hinfort in der Korrespondenz des Lateinischen bedienen, damit man erkenne, wie gut ihn seine Lehrer, nicht seine Amme erzogen hätten. Im übrigen habe ein angehender Kardinal (*futurus in domo Dei*) Latein zu schreiben (21). Interessant ist auch der Hinweis auf die kosmopolitische Funktion des Lateins in einem Brief an den senesischen Arzt und Petrarca-Kommentator Bernardo Lapini :

Delitiae Senenses, inter quas sedulo agis, oblitum te latinitatis fecerunt. Non potes alia lingua loqui, et scribere, quam qua audis, et loqueris. Memineris Latine te scire, me Romae esse, vbi lingua vna est ceterarum interpretes. (22)

Auch an anderer Stelle bekennt er sich zum Latein (*latinum meum*), räumt jedoch ein, dass das Italienische u.U. die Leser mehr interessiert, wenngleich für seine *Commentarii* - der Titel ist ja über Pius II. von Caesar bezogen - und Kunstbriefe nur das Latein in Frage kommt (23). Die tägliche Umgangssprache ist natürlich Italienisch. Dies hat der Grieche Bessarion ebenfalls erlernen müssen, nachdem er sich zuerst das Lateinische angeeignet hatte und darin ein grosser Meister geworden war :

Edidicit primum (sc. Bessario) summo desiderio litteras nostras, tantamque in his breui tempore loquendi, & scribendi assecutus est facultatem, vt inter doctissimos haberetur Latini nominis. Quin & locutionem popularem alieniorem Graeco diligenter apprehendit, ne adeuntium officia, per linguae inopiam tardarentur. (24)

Auch zum technischen Vorgang des Briefeschreibens sind einige Erläuterungen nötig. Von Ammannati sind zahlreiche Brieforiginale und Brevenminuten (Briefkonzepte) erhalten. Es fehlt aber an Sammelhandschriften. Auch eine Inkunabel gibt es nicht. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass seine Briefe nach dem Tod zwar von seinem Sekretär Gherardi gesammelt und für eine Edition vorbereitet wurden, welche 1506 erschien, aber sonst als Ganzes nicht weiter bekannt wurden. Die Gründe hierfür sind, dass Gherardi sich das Urheberrecht sichern wollte, dass er aber auch durch Rücksicht auf noch Lebende gebunden war. Ammannatis Briefe sind weniger Glanzstücke humanistischer Kunstprosa, deren historische Umstände (Datierung, Adressierung, etc.) keine Rolle spielten, wie etwa die Briefe eines Bruni und späterer, sondern zeitgenössische Quellen. Doglio hat vor allem bei den in Florenz entstandenen Briefsammlungen untersucht, wie die Briefe, die eine Verbindung von *humanae litterae* und *res publica* sind, ihren praktisch-politischen Ausgangspunkt verlieren und zum literarischen Genre und Schaustück werden. Der Inhalt von Ammannatis Briefen ist zwar *res publica*, Geschichte des Kirchenstaates, aber stets unter persönlichem Aspekt. Unter dem Pontifikat Pius' II. beschreibt er sie als Teilnehmer und Parteigänger, seine Briefe sind partiell identisch mit seinen *Commentarii* oder Vorbereitung und Materialsammlung derselben. Später beinhalten sie Kritik, denn er ist Aussenstehender und Ausgestossener, der sich immer tiefer in seine Isolierung hineinmanövriert. In vielen Dingen ist er ein objektiver Beobachter, hier sind seine Briefe objektive Geschichtsquelle, meist sind seine Mitteilungen jedoch durch verschiedene subjektive Vorbehalte entstellt : die Erinnerung an die Glanzzeit unter Pius II., den Hass auf Paul II. und seine Verschwendungssucht, den Neid auf die neuen Kardinäle, vor allem auf die Nepoten, was letztlich seine Wurzeln in zu kurz gekommenem Ehrgeiz hat. Einiger dieser Schwächen seiner Darstellung bzw. ihres realen Wertes war sich Ammannati bewusst. Nur an

einer einzigen Stelle findet sich eine theoretische Aussage über seine Auffassung von der Geschichtsschreibung und zwar zu Beginn des 7. Buches seiner *Commentarii* :

Incurrere in eundem annum, quo pugnatum ad Ariminum est, pleraque diversis ex locis, quae operae precium sit non praeterisse. Ea si quis ad animum non satis magna existimet, expendat idem nostri saeculi inopiam, plusque a scribente non exigat, quam minuta, ac prope concisa imperia offerant. Punica bella, & Macedonica, & Asiana, & civilia Romanorum cum admiratione leguntur, quod a summo Imperio, summisque gesta sunt Regibus. Eandem fortunam non habent praesentia. Inter haec tamen primordia nascentis Romae haudquaquam fastidio sunt : tam illa quidem humilia, quam haec magna, quae dico. Praestant parva suam quoque iucunditatem, si non tractentur incondite. Nostrae aetatis res gestas, quantumvis tenues, ut grati est animi ab interitu vindicare, ita non ingrati eas cognoscere. Ad documenta vitae, ad exempla fortunae, ad rationem omnem deliberandi afferre plurimum possunt. Id modo in nostris his scriptis molestum legentibus sit, quod ornatum orationis, vel nullum habent, vel tenuem, magisque ad prodendam memoriam, quam ad probandam eloquentiam sunt comparata. Hunc tamen incultum vel una potest historiae veritas consolari, cui per singula ita intendimus, ut nihil omnino asserendum duxerimus, quod non vel viderimus ipsi, vel ab ipsis prope auctoribus ad anxietatem sumpserimus. Id laboriosius hoc ipsum conati, quod testem veri praesentem memoriam veri(t) sumus. Porro autem quod ad nos attinet, sic liberam omni affectu mentem manumque attulimus ad scribendum : ut nullibi (quod conscius simus) vel a libertate averterit metus, vel ab officio abduxerit gratia. Turpem omnibus mendacem historiam, sed Sacerdoti turpissimam iudicantes. (25)

Worauf kommt es ihm also an ? er will die historischen Ereignisse der Nachwelt überliefern, wobei ihn die Fakten interessieren, nicht die Darstellung. Rhetorischer Schmuck ist deshalb entbehrlich. Dies ist z.T. Bescheidenheitstopos, denn man merkt immer wieder, wie sehr sich Ammannati die Antike, besonders Cicero, zum Vorbild nimmt, z.T. aber auch bessere Einsicht. Gemessen an der Geschichte des klassischen Altertums, an den Punischen Kriegen, dem Alexanderzug oder den römischen Bürgerkriegen, ist die Geschichte der Gegenwart unbedeutend, denn die Einheit des Reiches ist nicht mehr gewährleistet. Die Zerstückelung des italienischen Territoriums wird von ihm schmerzlich empfunden, wenngleich er Ansätze für ein wieder erstarkendes Rom sieht. Zuletzt geht er auf den Wahrheitscharakter der Historie und die Pflicht zur Wahrheit ein, die für einen Historiker höchstes Gebot seien, zumal, wenn er ein Geistlicher ist. Er nimmt sich vor, frei von Vorurteilen und Affekten zu schreiben, ein idealistisches Programm, das in der Darstellung oft zu kurz kommt. Die hier gemachten Aussagen gelten *mutatis mutandis* ebenfalls für seine Epistolographie.

Es gab für den Briefschreiber die Möglichkeit, eigenhändig zu schreiben oder den Brief zu diktieren. Ammannati war selber Sekretär gewesen, weshalb ihm das Schreiben leicht von der Hand ging. Zahlreiche Briefe schrieb er ganz oder teilweise eigenhändig, zahlreiche konzipierte er eigenhändig und tat dies offensichtlich nicht ungern. Dies war nicht bei allen Zeitgenossen so : er schreibt z.B. an den Kardinal Francesco Gonzaga, er wundere sich nicht, dass er ihm durch einen Sekretär antworten lasse, denn Feder und Tinte seien nicht sein Geschäft, er neige eher dazu zu lesen oder nachzudenken (26). An anderer Stelle spielt er hierbei in einem Brief an den Fürstensohn aber auch auf den Rangunterschied zwischen ihnen an : er habe sein Brot mit Schreiben verdienen müssen, Gonzaga sei es gewöhnt zu diktieren und Briefe höchstens zu versiegeln (27). Handschriftliche Briefe konnten mehrere Gründe haben : den der Vertraulichkeit und Geheimhaltung oder der Ehrerbietung, um den Adressaten auszuzeichnen, beides noch heute gültige Gründe, wenn man die Wahl zwischen Schreibmaschine oder Diktat und dem eigenhändigen Handschreiben hat. Für beide Motivationen finden sich bei Ammannati Belege. Eine besondere Wendung erfährt das Element des Eigenhändigen und Persönlichen im Verkehr mit den Freunden des Pius-Kreises : ein eigenhändiger Brief von ihnen ruft die Erinnerung an die glorreiche Vergangenheit wach, als Pius II. noch lebte und sie Rang und Ansehen hatten (28). Alter und Gebrechlichkeit werden verschiedentlich als Begründungen angegeben, wenn Ammannati einen Brief diktiert. Bisweilen fügt er jedoch hinzu, dass der Sekretär nur ein Werkzeug sei und seine eigenen Gedanken widerspiegele (29). Schreibt ein Freund jedoch nicht eigenhändig, kritisiert Ammannati dies und wirft dem Absender vor, der Brief von Hand eines Sekretärs sei kein vollgültiger Brief (30). Eigenhändig aufgesetzte Minuten sah er durch, korrigierte sie und fügte hinzu und liess sie dann vom Sekretär in der Endfassung abschreiben. Das gleiche Verfahren kam zur Anwendung, wenn er einem Sekretär diktiert hatte. Diese Endfassungen müssen von uns als Brieforiginale angesehen werden. Von den lateinischen Briefen sind leider nur wenige erhalten, so dass wir zwar in *Arm. 39, t. 10* viele Briefkonzepte besitzen, nicht jedoch die Endredaktionen, die dazu gehörten. Umgekehrt fehlen zu den erhaltenen Brieforiginalen in Volgare, die für Ammannati eine mindere Rolle spielten, die Konzepte. Dies ist der grösste Hinderungsgrund für eine erneute Edition des schon gedruckten Epistolars. Welchen Text soll man der Neuedition zugrunde legen ? Man kann zwar, wo dies möglich ist, Konzept und Endredaktion vergleichen und die Differenzen feststellen, aber dies liefert nur Aufschlüsse über Ammannatis Brieftechnik, keine Textverbesserung. Gherardi, der die Briefedition vorbereitete, hat die Vorlagen, die sicher vielfach Originale waren, vernichtet, oder diese sind nicht überkommen. Einige Briefe wurden auch von den Sekretären in eigener Verantwortung geschrieben, vor allem, wenn es um stereotype Empfehlungsbriefe ging, die einen grossen Teil des Epistolars ausmachen. Vielleicht sind es all die Originale, die nicht Ammannatis Unterschrift tragen, denn was hätte ihn hindern sollen, sein *manu propria* hinzuzufügen, wie es bei zahlreichen Briefen der Fall ist, wenn er selber Korrektur las ? Aber das können wir nicht beweisen und müssen uns mit allen Briefen befassen, die seinen Namen als Absender tragen.

Die endgültigen Briefversionen wurden ins Reine geschrieben, der Bogen gefaltet, auf der Rückseite adressiert (*inscribere*), unterschrieben und gesiegelt (*obsignare, signare*). Der oder die Briefe wurden vertrauenswürdigen Reisenden, Fremden oder den Bankboten der Medici-Bank mitgegeben, die die Aufgaben der Postzustellung wahrnahmen. Sie nahmen ein grösseres Briefbündel mit und verteilten es an Ort und Stelle. Irrtümer konnten oft leicht vorkommen, sei es, dass die Sekretäre falsch adressierten (31) oder der Bote falsch ablieferte (32), was zu peinlichkeiten führen konnte, da Hetze und Invektive, auch gegen sog. Freunde, bei den Humanisten nicht selten waren. In Ammannatis Abwesenheit durfte der erste Sekretär Giacomo Gherardi die Post in Empfang nehmen. Er hatte für seine Arbeit in Rom und Siena ein eigenes Zimmer, wo er ungestört arbeiten konnte und wo ihm ein eigener Amanuensis zur Hand ging :

Reddet tibi Bernardus noster has literas, & cartaceum involucrum illis alligatum, & annulo obsignatum. Significato per eundem, qui ad nos rediturus est quamprimum, te omnia recepisse. Placet cum tibi erit ocium a domesticis, ut annotationes illas rescribas, sed ordine suo. Imprimis vero cura ne videantur a quoquam: ne quidem ab illo, qui tibi famulatur a manu, cuius hac in re barbariem nolim contempnas. Sunt enim hi quandoque magis quam oporteat oculati. Datum est ideo tibi Senis & Romae cubiculum soli, ut cuncta quae vel scribis vel tractas ex nostris, secretiora sint semper. (33)

Wie zahlreiche andere Humanisten bereitete auch Ammannati zu Lebzeiten eine spätere Publikation seiner Briefe vor. Die Humanisten gingen in ihrer Selbsteinschätzung so weit, jedes eigene Wort so wichtig zu nehmen, dass es nicht verloren gehen durfte. Obgleich Ammannati ein Kirchenmann war, machte er hier keine Ausnahme. Eigene Zeugnisse, die dies bestätigen, sind jedoch nicht sehr zahlreich (34). Hier werden klar die Akzente gesetzt : den eigenhändigen und den lateinischen Briefen wird eine Vorrangstellung eingeräumt :

Litteras omnes meas, quas manu propria scribo, serva diligenter, ut presto esse possint cum repetentur, Latine praesertim.

Damit wird, was wir eingangs sagten, bestätigt. Ammannati verschliesst sich dem immer stärker werdenden Trend zur Volkssprache nicht, wenn die soziale Stellung des Adressaten dies erfordert oder bei Dingen, deren Inhalt so nebensächlich war, dass er nicht überliefert werden sollte. So sind die Empfehlungsbriefe an die Signorien fast ausnahmslos in Volgare. Dass die Inhalte der Volgare-Briefe wie bei Petrarca auf *häusliche und ökonomische Geschäfte* (35) beschränkt waren, stimmt nicht, denn gerade über diese Themen schreibt er vielfach auf Latein, z.B. alle Briefe an den Sekretär Gherardi. Vielleicht liegt es daran, dass die lateinischen Briefe in stilistischer und inhaltlicher Ausformung die grossen Humanisten nicht mehr erreichen, wie grosse Sorgfalt Ammannati auch auf ihre Abfassung verwandte.

Mit der geringen Verbreitung im Quattrocento hängt auch das Fehlen zeitgenössischer Urteile über Ammannati zusammen. Allein Gherardi berichtet im Zusammenhang mit der Zusammenstellung von Ammannatis Briefsammlung einige Notizen, die jedoch unter dem Aspekt seiner Freundschaft zu dem verstorbenen Kardinal zu sehen sind. In einem Brief an Francesco Piccolomini, den Kardinal von Siena, werden die verschiedenen Aspekte aufgezählt: An erster Stelle steht der Nutzen, den der Leser von der Lektüre hat (*Sunt enim eiusmodi ut videbis, ut fructum potius legenti possint afferre quam quempiam ledere*). Hervorgehoben werden *ornatus verborum* und *salutaris eruditio*, womit die Briefe in den Gesamtkreis der von Cicero inspirierten humanistischen Epistolographie rücken. Die Briefe seien weniger private Zeugnisse als *publice utilitatis gratia* geschrieben. Wir sahen schon, wie die Briefe vielfach komplementär zu den Commentarii zu sehen sind und eines *Romane ecclesie senatore* würdig sind. In einem Widmungsschreiben an Giovanni de' Medici, den späteren Papst Leo X., spricht Gherardi zuerst von dem engen Verhältnis zwischen Giovannis Vater Lorenzo und Ammannati. Danach stellt er den Wert der Briefsammlung für den jungen Kardinal heraus: sie seien sozusagen Lehrstücke für den angehenden Kurialen. Alle Traktanden und Schliche der Kirchenpolitik seien darin ausgebreitet. Wieder wird also der Nutzen der Briefe erwähnt. Sie sind in dieser Sicht weniger Instrument als Dokument:

Eas autem ad te potissimum destinandas putavi, ut qui tiro in aciem senatoriam nunc primum descendis, discere possis quibus armis usi sunt veterani, ii praecipue qui cum laude versati sunt et gloriam vivendo, agendo et consulendo sunt consequuti, qui si mundo nunc mortui iudicantur, Deo tamen et sempiternae gloriae vivunt et vivent. Offero igitur benignitati tuae libellum hunc epistolarum Papiensis tui, ut postquam pater te filium vivens instruere nequivit, me eius alumno propinante, lectione scriptorum suorum nihilominus instruaris. In quibus tot et tanta invenies tam in senatibus sui temporis tractata, quam apud alios de rebus maximis acta, ut etiam filius mortuo patri benedicturus sis, et mihi gratias habiturus, qui tantum ornamenti ad novam hanc dignitatem tuam attulerim, quod si (ut dixi) meum non est, a me tamen nunc repertum et digestum, ut quod antea nulli vel paucis admodum innotuerat, nunc et tibi et plerisque ad lucrum conferri poterit, meo et plurimorum iudicio non contemnendum. (36)

Sie rücken damit eher in die Nähe der Briefe Salutatis als Brunis, insofern sie *un preciso significato politico e una specifica funzione pratica* haben, wie Doglio (S.249) es ausdrückt. So erklärt sich die geringe Verbreitung und das mangelhafte Interesse der Zeitgenossen, die eher auf stilistische Vorbilder als Geschichtsquellen erpicht waren.

Ammannati schrieb seine Briefe jedenfalls in künstlerischer Absicht. Insofern waren sie auch Gegenstand literarischer Ausarbeitung. Da sie vielfach historischen zeitgeschichtlichen Inhalts waren, suchte er nach Vergleichen mit der Antike und historischen Personen der Antike, an denen die Gegenwart

gemessen wurde. Da diese antiken Philosophen, Feldherren, Staatsmänner usw. vorbildlich gelebt hatten, liessen sie sich nicht nur für historische, sondern auch moralphilosophische Vergleiche heranziehen. Um eine Fülle von Belegen stets parat zu haben, legte Ammannati zu diesem Zweck ein Enchiridion an, in welches er seine Lese Früchte eintrug. Eine solche Sammlung ist in *Cod. Vat. Lat. 3925* erhalten, der z.T. eigenhändig von Ammannati geschrieben ist. Teile stammen auch von fremder Hand, jedoch nicht vom Lieblingssekretär Gherardi. Wahrscheinlich erteilte Ammannati den anderen Sekretären, Capellanen und gebildeten Mitgliedern seines Hausstandes den Auftrag, an seiner Sammlung mitzuwirken. Wir können hier nicht ausführlich auf diesen Kodex eingehen, doch sollen die "Stichworte" und die wichtigsten Autoren genannt werden, aus denen A. seine Belege zusammensuchte. Die Stichworte lauten: *Continentia, incontinentia, libido, duritas penitentie corporalis; clementia, duritas, facilitas, comitas; modestia, pudor, decorum, immodestia, risus; patientia, impatientia; perseverantia, intermissio, labor, inertia, diligentia, gravitas, levitas, otium; temperantia, cupiditas, gula, intemperantia, voluptas, luxus; fortitudo, timiditas, temeritas, fidentia, diffidentia, nimia fidentia, persecutio*. Die wichtigsten Autoren und Werke sind: Eusebius, *Hist. ecclesiastica*; Plutarch, *Vitae parallelae* und *Apophthegmata*; Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*; Sueton, *De Vita Caesarum*; Ammianus Marcellinus; Cicero, *De officiis, De divinatione, Pro Murena, De senectute, Tusculanae*; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*; Plinius Maior; Macrobius; Flavius Blondus, *Roma triumphans*; Seneca, *De clementia, Epistolae morales, De vita beata, De beneficiis*; Varro, *De agricultura* (gemeint *Res rusticae*); Cato; Gnaeus Naevius; Francesco Barbaro, *Briefe*; Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae, Bellum Iudaicum*; Buch *Chronicon* der Bibel. Die bei weitem zahlreichsten Belege stammen aus Plutarch, was kein Wunder ist, wenn man an die Plutarch-Renaissance des Quattrocento denkt, danach folgen Sueton, Cicero und Seneca, die auch die stilistischen Vorbilder liefern. Es ist interessant, aber nicht verwunderlich, dass in dieser Kollektion die Bibel und zwei Humanisten gleichrangig neben der Antike figurieren. Nicht alle Autoren wurden im Original gelesen, so dürfte Aulus Gellius nach Blondus zitiert werden; Naevius aus einem anderen Autor und die Griechen natürlich in lateinischer Übersetzung. Die Zusammenstellung umfasst die wichtigsten dem Quattrocento bekannten moralphilosophischen Autoren. Für die Geschichte der Plutarch-Rezeption wäre die Handschrift ebenfalls nutzbar zu machen. In Ammannatis Briefsammlung, so wie sie vorliegt, sind nur einige dieser Zitate verwendet. Hier nehmen Bibelzitate (*Ezechiel, Hiob, Jesaja, Jeremias, Salomon*) einen grossen Platz ein. Thomas von Aquin, Augustin und Hieronymus treten noch hinzu. Zitate aus antiken Autoren sind spärlich. Es findet sich einiges aus Cicero, Horaz, Livius, Ovid, Persius, Plautus, Iuvenal, Seneca und Varro. Aber nicht so, dass man von einer Vorliebe Ammannatis für einen dieser Autoren, sieht man von Cicero ab, sprechen könnte.

Seine Briefe erreichen die sprachliche Perfektion der grossen Humanisten nicht, vielleicht hatte der kuriale Umgang tatsächlich seinen Stil verdorben. So haben denn seine Briefe eher Quellenwert, als dass sie stilistisches Vorbild sind. Ohne zu diesen Punkt detaillierte Untersuchungen angestellt zu haben, kann man wohl sagen, dass der Kirchenfürst den Humanisten früh besiegt hat.

D-5275 Bergneustadt 1
Wallstrasse 16

- (1) Frank Rutger HAUSMANN, *Armarium 39, Tomus 10 des Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Ein Beitrag zum Epistolar des Kardinals Giacomo Ammannati-Piccolomini (1422-1479) und anderer Humanisten*, in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 50 (1970), s. 112-180.
- (2) Frank Rutger HAUSMANN, *Die Benefizien des Kardinals Jacopo Ammannati-Piccolomini. Ein Beitrag zur ökonomischen Situation des Kardinalats im Quattrocento*. (Erscheint in den Römischen Historischen Mitteilungen, 1971). In den beiden genannten Aufsätzen findet sich eine Übersicht über die gesamte Literatur zu Ammannati und seiner Tätigkeit, soweit sie von Bedeutung ist.
- (3) *Regesti del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca. Carteggio degli Anziani*, vol. V 1473 - 1492, Lucca 1943 ; teilweise auch vol. IV 1430-1472, Lucca 1907.
- (4) Einige dieser Briefe erscheinen im Anhang zu meinem n.2 genannten Artikel.
- (5) s.n. 4
- (6) Giuseppe MAZZATINTI, *Inventario delle carte dell'Archivio Sforzesco contenute nei Codd. Ital. 1583-1593 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi*, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo* X (1883), s. 222-329.
- (7) Maria Luisa DOGLIO, *Lettere del Boiardo e epistolari del Quattrocento* in *Lettere Italiane* XXI (1969), s. 245-264 ; Cfr. 255 f.
- (8) Paul Oskar KRISTELLER, *L'origine e lo sviluppo della prosa volgare italiana*, in *Cultura Neolatina* 10 (1950), s. 137-156 ; Cfr. 148 ff.
- (9) Hans BARON, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance. Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, Princeton 1955, 2 Bde.
- (10) Antonio ALTAMURA, *Il certame coronario* (= Collezione Novantiqua 3), Neapel 1952, s. 18 (von mir ins Dt. übersetzt)
- (11) Zum *Certame coronario* allgemein : Girolamo MANCINI, *Un nuovo documento sul certame coronario di Firenze del 1441*, in *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, serie 5a IX (1892), s. 326-346 ; Pio RAJNA, *Le origini del Certame coronario*, in *Scritti vari di erudizione e di critica in onore di Rodolfo Renier*, Torino 1912, s. 1027-1056 ; Francesco FLAMINI, *La lirica toscana del rinascimento anteriore ai tempi del Magnifico*, Torino 1891 ; ALTAMURA, op.cit. ; Leon Battista ALBERTI, *Opere volgari di L.B.A. Per la più parte inedite e tratte dagli autografi*, Firenze 1843-1847, 5 Bde, passim.

- (12) *La prima grammatica della lingua volgare. La grammaticetta vaticana. Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 1370 a cura di Cecil GRAYSON* (= Collezione di opere inedite o rare pubblicata dalla commissione per i testi di lingua 125), Bologna 1964.
- (13) Vittorio CIAN, *Contro il volgare*, in *Studi letterari e linguistici dedicati a Pio Rajna nel 40° anno del suo insegnamento*, Milano 1911, s. 251-299, hier 264-265 ; *Testi non toscani del Quattrocento a cura di Bruno MIGLIORINI e Gianfranco FOLENA*. (Istituto di Filologia Romanza dell'Università di Roma, Collezione di Testi e Manuali 39), Modena 1953, s. XVI.
- (14) Mario SANTORO, *Cristoforo Landino e il volgare*, in *Giorn. Stor. Lett. Ital.*, (1954), s. 501-547.
- (15) KRISTELLER, *L'origine e lo sviluppo*, 149.
- (16) KRISTELLER, *L'origine e lo sviluppo*, 150.
- (17) Maurizio VITALE, *La lingua volgare della cancelleria Visconteo-Sforzesca nel Quattrocento*, Varese-Milano 1953, s. 29-42 ; Gerhard ERNST, *Die Toskanisierung des römischen Dialekts im 15. und 16. Jhdt.* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 121), Tübingen 1970.
- (18) *Testi non toscani*, s. XIX.
- (19) Augusto CAMPANA, *The Origin of the Word "Humanist"*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld institutes IX* (1946), s. 60-73.
- (20) Für die Zitierung der Briefe benutze ich die Ausgabe von 1614 Francofurti, in der *Officina Aubriana* ; hier ep. 135, 560.
- (21) Ep. 368, 700.
- (22) Ep. 500, 793.
- (23) Ep. 321, 684.
- (24) Ep. 127, 553.
- (25) *Commentarii* (gleiche Ausgabe wie n.20) lib. VII inc. S.438.
- (26) Ep. 623, 859.
- (27) Ep. 569, 833.
- (28) Ep. 455, 770.
- (29) Ep. 202, 621.
- (30) Ep. 450, 766.
- (31) Ep. 103, 540 ; 104, 540.
- (32) Ep. 218.
- (33) Ep. 364, 708.
- (34) Ep. 322, 685.
- (35) Georg VOIGT, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*, Berlin 1893³, 2 Bde, II 417 ff.
- (36) Giacomo GHERARDI, *Il diario Romano dal VII settembre 1479 al XII agosto 1484*, in : *Rerum Ital. Script.*, XXIII, 3 (Città di Castello 1904), Prefazione von Enrico CARUSI, s. XCI.

Veljko Gortan
Vladimir Vratović

THE BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CROATIAN LATINITY

1

The Role of the Latin Language among the Croats

The regions in which the Croats settled were a former part of the Roman Empire, and in the main centres, especially on the Adriatic coast, Latin remained for a long time the official language of administration and public life. Another factor which contributed to its survival in these regions was that it was the language of the Catholic Church. In the territory of Croatia, where remains of the material and spiritual culture of late Antiquity met and were interpenetrated by those of early Christianity, the first Latin writings appear on stone inscriptions. As early as the ninth century at the courts of Croatian princes official documents were written in Latin, which remained the language both of public and of private documents. Of special importance are notarial documents (the oldest : Zadar 1146), and town statutes (the oldest : Split 1240), a great number of which have been preserved and some published. But Croatian medieval Latin also includes, besides legends and hagiographies, historio graphic writings and chronicles, which are not without literary merit, e.g. *Historia Salonitana* (*The History of Salona*, the history of the Church of Split since Roman times) written by Archdeacon Thomas in the middle of the thirteenth century, and *Obsidio Iadrensis* (*The Siege of Zadar*) by an unknown author from the fourteenth century.

Of the many Latin inscriptions in verse some show fairly good versification and some freshness of poetic expression.

Croatian Latin runs in an uninterrupted course from the ninth century and, as a literature fully mature in expression and content, from humanism until the middle of the nineteenth century.

That Croatian literature in the period from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century was bilingual and that its Latin part equalled its Croatian counterpart both in scope and literary value, is a fact clearly proved by the Croatian literary

heritage. Few nations in Europe have such a continuous and thematically varying literature in the Latin language. Owing to its use through many centuries and its influence on public life, the role of the Latin language was, in fact, much more important in Croatia than in most other European nations.

There were several reasons for the continued use of Latin. One of them, though not the primary one, was the continuity of Latin schools, run mainly by the clergy. Nurtured on the soil of Antiquity, the tradition of the Latin language was reflected in literature in an ever present desire to express, in the international language of the European "literary republic", not only general subjects, but also feelings and thoughts closely linked with the native soil. Latinists from different parts of Croatia found their inspiration in the reality of their native land, in the petty passions of everyday life as well as in loftier patriotic enthusiasm and the bitter realization of the hard fate of their country.

Situated on the borderline between the East and the West, Croatia was exposed to centuries of Turkish invasions, so that struggle and resistance are recurrent themes in the poetry and prose of Croatian literature in Latin. This is most clearly expressed in the numerous desperate calls made by the most distinguished Croatian Latinists to the European public for moral and material support against the mighty enemy from the East, who was jeopardizing not only the cultural progress, but the very existence of the Croatian people.

The Croats used Latin longer than many other European countries not only in their literature but in science as well. This applies particularly to political life, where it was kept longest both as the language of writing and the living speech. In northern Croatia, which from the eighteenth century was increasingly threatened by Germanization and Magyarization, Latin played the role of indirect protector of the national language. Being prevented by the Austro-Hungarian government from using their native language in politics, the Croats were deliberately preserving Latin as a language which could not be dangerous. It therefore remained the official language of the Croatian Assembly in Zagreb as late as 1847, when it had long disappeared from public official use in other European countries.

It is interesting to mention that the most ardent advocates of the Croatian Revival in the nineteenth century, who were fighting for the purity and free development of the Croatian language, were, without exception, educated Latin speakers. Having a profound knowledge of the language of Cicero and Horace, they invested their Croatian writings with the spirit of Latin syntax, believing it would enrich the expressiveness of their native language. This fact was clearly expressed in the persistent efforts of the Croatian Revivalists and their successors to keep up the continuity of older Croatian literature by promoting their own language and working on its modern shaping and in publishing old Croatian writers.

The most prominent Croatian Latinists and literary Circles.

The long medieval tradition of the Latin language created a fertile ground on which humanism could not only strike roots but achieve its full development. In Croatia the period of humanism lasted from the first decades of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Its most important centres on the Adriatic were : at the beginning of the fifteenth century Zadar, in the middle of the fifteenth century Šibenik, Trogir, Dubrovnik and Kotor, in the second half of the century Split and the Istrian towns, and at the turn of the century Hvar and Korčula. Northern Croatia is the home of the famous humanists Ivan Vitez od Sredne, Ivan Česmički (fifteenth century), and Stjepan Brodarić (sixteenth century) who lived outside their native country.

In Z a d a r a humanistic circle formed first around Petar Kršava, the abbot of the St. Krševan Monastery. In the second half of the fifteenth century Juraj Divnić, the Bishop of Nin, born in Šibenik and himself a Latin poet, gathered around him a number of humanists, the most prominent of whom was Jerolim Vidulić, a Latinist and the oldest Croatian poet from Zadar known so far. In the sixteenth century Šimun Kožičić-Benja, the Bishop of Modruš, distinguished himself not only with his glagolitic work, but also with his famous speeches at the Council of Trent and those before Leo X.

The most prominent personality of the circle in Š i b e n i k was Juraj Šizgorić, whose *Elegiae et carmina* (Venice 1477) is the oldest printed collection of poems of Croatian Latin.

Humanism in T r o g i r had a long tradition. Koriolan Cippico, a distinguished member of a famous Trogir family, gave a brilliant description of the naval operations against the Turks conducted by the Venetian commander and later doge, Pietro Mocenigo (*Petri Mocenici imperatoris gestorum libri III*, Venice 1477). The greatest name of humanism in Trogir, Fran Trankvil Andreis, author of dialogic debates and epistles, speeches and a rich correspondence, who lived for several decades in various countries and courts of Europe, was in contact with the most prominent humanists of the sixteenth century and spent only the end of his life in his home town.

D u b r o v n i k has a special place in older Croatian literature. It developed, more than any other Croatian cultural centre, a rich literature in Croatian and in Latin. Moreover, in this town Latin literature had the longest continuity. There are several reasons for that. One of the most important is certainly the great economic power (particularly until the 1667 earthquake) and the political independence of the Dubrovnik Republic, which lasted until the

beginning of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Dubrovnik was always, even more so than other Croatian centres, open to various cultural influences, and showed a remarkable capacity to absorb them and develop them further independently. This is exemplified by several writers who were foreigners, e.g. the poet Didak Pir in the sixteenth century, by origin a Portuguese Jew, the Frenchman Marko Bruerević-Bruère and the two Italians, brothers Frano Maria and Urban Appendini, who lived in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, all of whom added something of the spirit of their native country to the cultural treasury of Dubrovnik, but who nevertheless fit harmoniously into Dubrovnik's tradition and way of life.

It was during the period of humanism that Dubrovnik had the greatest number of important and gifted followers of the Latin Muse : Ivan Gučetić, Karlo Pucić and Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, born around the middle of the fifteenth century and the somewhat younger writers Ilija Crijević, Jakov Bunić and Damjan Benešić. If we add to the most talented of them (the lyric poet I. Crijević, the epic poet Bunić and the historian Crijević Tuberon) the philosopher Juraj Dragišić, who, after returning from Italy at the end of the fifteenth century, gathered around him an important humanistic circle of philosophers and poets, we shall see that the fifteenth century was the golden age of Latin literature not only in Dubrovnik but in the whole of Croatia during the period of humanism. The philosopher Nikola Vitov Gučetić wrote in the second half of the sixteenth century : most of his works were written in Italian, but he left a number of Latin works both in print and in manuscript. Having a profound knowledge of contemporary scientific thought, he tackles problems concerning the theory of state, natural sciences, aesthetics and metaphysics in his numerous works. Around this outstanding personality, whose writing was also highly appreciated in Italy, there gathered a circle of poets and aesthetes, who were linked by an intimate friendship and spiritual kinship.

Kotor, the southern most Croatian centre with a long tradition of Latin schools and interest in humanism, gave a number of distinguished writers and scientists. Besides numerous citizens of Kotor who lived and wrote outside their native town, in other Croatian regions or abroad, mention should be made of the talented poets Ludovik Paskalić in the sixteenth century and Ivan Bona-Bolica in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

After a sudden flourishing at the end of the fifteenth century, humanism in Split did not last long. Its greatest name and one of the most distinguished writers on a Croatian and European scale is certainly Marko Marulić. However, his circle did not produce any other great writer.

In Istria the strongest centre of humanistic activity was Kopar, followed by Piran and Labin, the native town of Matija Grbić and Matija Vlačić, protestant humanists of the sixteenth century, influential in Europe and in Germany in particular, where they developed a fruitful activity.

On the islands of the South Adriatic, especially on Hvar and Korčula, humanistic activity lasted longer than in Marulić's native town Split, with which it was closely connected at the beginning and yielded more important results in the literature in Croatian. Of the representatives of humanism on Hvar in the sixteenth century mention should be made of Vinko Pribojević, who in 1525 "as a Dalmatian and consequently an Illyrian and finally as a Slav" spoke with enthusiasm in Latin "to the Slavs about the destiny of the Slavs", and the writer and scientist Jeronim Bartučević (Hieronymus Atticus). From Korčula came Jakov Baničević, who lived there only for a short time after his studies, serving as canon of the Hvar and Korčula church. He spent the rest of his life as an influential personality in important diplomatic offices in Europe, and his friends and correspondents include Albrecht Dürer, Erasmus, Pietro Bembo, and others.

As we have already said, Dubrovnik was the only centre to keep the continuity of writing in Latin in the sixteenth and later centuries, while in other Adriatic centres literature in Latin withered away at the end of the sixteenth century, and often even earlier, to appear later only sporadically in the works of some writers.

In Northern Croatia, especially in Zagreb, signs of scientific and literary work can be traced as far back as the twelfth century, first of all among monastic orders (Benedictines, Paulines, Dominicans and Franciscans). Seminaries and town schools maintained, though in a thin layer of the population, a cultural climate not unlike that in Western European countries. As early as the first half of the thirteenth century, a number of Croats studied in Italy, and in the following centuries an ever increasing number of Croats from Zagreb, Varaždin, Osijek, Požega, Đakovo and other towns studied not only in Padua and Bologna but also in Cracow, Vienna, Prague, at German universities and in Paris.

We must draw special attention to the fact that the most distinguished representatives of humanism in Northern Croatia (I. Vitez, I. Česmički, S. Brodarić, B. Đurđević, A. Dudić, P. Skalić), as well as many writers from the south of Croatia (A. Vrančić, F. Trankvil Andreis, Juraj Utišenić, M.A. Dominis) lived and worked outside their homeland, in Hungary and other European countries. We shall, therefore, discuss them later.

A favourable factor for the work of Latinists in Northern Croatia was the Counter-Reformation movement after the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Its ardent promoter was the Bishop of Zagreb, the Croatian *Ban*us and writer Juraj Drašković (1525-1587). At the invitation of the Croatian Assembly, the Jesuits came to Zagreb in 1606 and opened the first grammar school in 1607; in 1669 their Academy with three years of philosophy was granted university status by King Leopold I. In 1658 they took over the public school in Dubrovnik, and in 1684 founded a college (Collegium Ragusinum) which became very influential.

In Varaždin they founded a college in 1628 and a grammar school in 1636. Until the year 1773, when the order was abolished, the Jesuits exercised a strong influence on the cultural, literary and political life in Dubrovnik and Northern Croatia, where they penetrated as a counter-force to the ideas of the Reformation which were spreading from Slovenia, Hungary and Germany. The first public grammar school in Croatia was founded by the Paulinists in Lepoglava in 1503, where they had a monastery since 1400.

“Even if Croatian humanism, developing in the most tragic period in our history and on the narrow belt between the sea and the invading East, was neither concentrated in the fatherland nor could it awaken so many original aspirations and ferment of thought as it did in the more fortunate European countries, it was of enormous importance for the further development of Croatian cultural life.” (Kombol). More radical thought did however exist mainly in that part of Croatian humanistic literature which was written outside the country, in the non-conformistic environment of great European universities or at the courts of liberal Renaissance rulers. Among early Croatian humanists such writers, for example, were those who grew out of the climate of the Sorbonne (I. Stojković, J. Dragišić, N. Modruški, L. Crijević Tuberon, F.T. Andreis) and those who were educated in Italy and adopted the more liberal ideas of Renaissance high society (I. Česmički and, in his earlier phase, I. Crijević); the same can be said of the later protestants or protestant sympathisers Vlačić, Grbić, Dudić, Skalić and Dominis.

Humanism in Croatia itself, on the other hand, was marked by conservative ideas and adherence to religious traditions which give it a basic Christian tinge.

Latin humanist literature among the Croats is in many of its features at the level of European literature of that time; Croatian writers possess a deeply literary and refined linguistic culture, their works reflect the wish to match their original inspiration against that of classical models or of their contemporaries and justify before the world and themselves the existence of art in everyday life. Some Croatian humanist writers (e.g. I. Česmički, M. Marulić, L. Crijević Tuberon, I. Crijević, J. Bunić, A. Vrančić, M. Vlačić, F. Petrić) equal the most distinguished Latin writers of their time in Europe. Successfully combining individual expression and rich artistic invention, in conflict between the free flight of imagination and social backwardness of their environment, under constant threat of Turkish invasions, many of our humanists succeeded in creating poetry and prose of great literary merit.

It is no exaggeration to say, therefore, that of all the Slav nations, the Croats had the richest and aesthetically the most valuable humanistic literature in Latin.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century (1607) Frano Gundulić wrote his *Carmina*, a manuscript collection, and Bartol Kašić *Institutiones linguae*

Illyricae (Rome 1604), the first grammar of the Croatian language. In that period Northern Croatia and Dalmatia had only a number of minor poets, though their historians and biographers deserve more attention : Juraj Ratkaj in the first and Baltazar Patačić in the second half of the seventeenth century. And while Gundulić, Bunić and Palmotić, all from Dubrovnik, had no rivals in Croatian vernacular literature of that century, the Latin literature of Croatia at that time was dominated by Ivan Lučić-Lucius and Pavao Ritter-Vitezović. Though biased in favour of Venice, Lučić's main work *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* (Amsterdam 1666), is the first critical document of Croatian historiography. Throughout his Latin and Croatian works, Vitezović, the first professional Croatian writer, linked in his vision the Croatian North and South much more than could be concluded from the fact that he was born in Senj and lived for a long time in Zagreb.

Ignjat Đurđević and Vice Petrović, two distinguished members of the *Academy of the Idlers*, established in Dubrovnik about 1695 on the model of the Italian *Accademia degli Arcadi*, worked at the end of the seventeenth and in the first half of the eighteenth century. Unlike Petrović's poetry, written mainly in Latin, Đurđević's Croatian poems, which make him one of the most prominent authors of his time, exceed in number those he wrote in Latin. In his diverse and abundant Latin prose and in his Latin verse, reflecting in many aspects the manner of the contemporary Jesuit and Arcadian poetry, Đurđević reached a high level of Latin literary expression.

After his death, the centres of literature in the vernacular moved to the northern regions of Croatia, a large part of which was not freed from the Turks until the end of the seventeenth century. Turning our attention for a moment from Dubrovnik - which in the eighteenth century was once again, to give Croatian literature in Latin the greatest number of genuine creators, - to the North, we shall encounter Matija Petar Katančić, an archeologist and numismatist from Valpovo in Slavonia, who wrote in Latin and Croatian and is the author of the first Croatian handbook of metrics (in Latin). A somewhat earlier writer, the Bosnian Filip Lastrić, is the author of an interesting and comprehensive history of the Bosnian Franciscan province (*Epitome vetustatum provinciae Bosnensis* 1762) and a collection of sermons, published simultaneously in Croatian and Latin (*Testimonium bilabium*). Valuable contributions to eighteenth century Latin prose came from several Zagreb authors : Adam Alojzije Baričević, letter-writer, literary and cultural historian ; Baltazar Adam Krčelić (born at Brdovec near Zagreb), an outstanding personality of the century, continued to a certain extent Vitezović's research in his abundant historiographic work, and in his memoirs *Annuae* left an interesting testimony of public and private life of the time. A prominent place among these authors is taken by Tito Brezovački, who wrote poems and comedies in Croatian, but is also the author of several Latin

poems in which poetic invention equals the discerningly depicted political problems with which Croatia was faced in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

On Đurđević's death Dubrovnik lost its last major poet writing in Croatian. It is a fact that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Dubrovnik did not produce a single great writer, such as Marin Držić in the sixteenth century, Gundulić and Bunić in the seventeenth, and Đurđević at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But poets like Stay and Kunić, Đžamanjić, Rastić, Galjuf and many other lesser prose writers and poets, who are important for the overall picture of literary work, seem to have taken over the task of continuing and spreading in Latin the glory of the old Dubrovnik literature. We can, therefore, speak only of a decadence of literature in the Croatian language in Dubrovnik, because the Latin literature of that period is not only of great aesthetic value but deeply aware of the Dubrovnik tradition which was alive in earlier Croatian and Latin literary works.

The renewed flourishing of Latin literature in Dubrovnik in the eighteenth century was, no doubt, enhanced not only by the national tradition but also by the fruitful contacts of Dubrovnik with Italian cultural centres and the revival of Classicism in Italy. Furthermore, beneficial influence came from the well-equipped libraries and the development of schools, in which the Jesuits and later the Piarists educated generations of Latin poets and verse-makers of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century.

The growing interest in the political and cultural history of the nation resulted in the first works dealing with Croatian literary history, which describe the history of ecclesiastical orders in Northern Croatia in general and their cultural work in particular. Bio-bibliographical work was especially developed in Dubrovnik. The biographies of Dubrovnik poets from the introduction to the anthology *Vitae illustrium Rhacusinorum* (written by Ignjat Đurđević between 1712 and 1716, not published until 1935), were used by Đuro Bašić in his *Elogia Iesuitarum Ragusinorum* (written in 1764-65, published in 1933), the most complete collection of biographies of Dubrovnik Jesuits, many of whom were writers. The most important work in this field is the *Bibliotheca Ragusina* (four large manuscript volumes, 1740-1743), by the Dominican Saro Crijević, with 435 biographical and bibliographical portraits of writers who were born or worked in Dubrovnik. A special place must be reserved for two manuscript collections of poetry by Đuro Ferić: the first contains *Elogia Ragusinorum poetarum, qui Illyrica lingua scripserunt*, eulogistic epigrams about Dubrovnik poets who wrote in Croatian, with brief, frequently clearly observed characteristics of their work as writers and translators; the second consists of 18 *Elogia nonnullorum civium Ragusanorum, qui soluta numeris oratione Illyrice scripserunt*, about Croatian prose writers. These eulogies express clearly the

awareness of the author who wrote in Latin of the continuity and merits of the literature written in Croatian in Dubrovnik.

Some of the greatest eighteenth century Dubrovnik poets who wrote in Latin lived and worked outside their native country mainly in Italy : Ruđer Bošković, astronomer, physicist and mathematician of world renown ; Benedikt Stay, "Dubrovnik's Lucretius" ; Rajmund Kunić, lyricist, famous for his translation of the Iliad ; Marko Faustin Galjuf, a brilliant Latin improviser (he died in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century).

In Dubrovnik itself the most important and talented poets, who set the tone of literary life until the first half of the nineteenth century, were : Brno Džamanjić, a master of various Latin literary genres ; Đuro Ferić, a versatile poet, translator and populariser of folk-songs ; Đuro Hidza, Latin poet and distinguished translator of Horace and Vergil ; Džono Rastić, the greatest master of Latin satire in Croatia. Their circle includes three "Illyricised" foreigners : Marko Bruerević, an equally proficient poet in the Croatian and Latin language, and the Appendini brothers. The elder of them, Frano Maria, in some of his biographical and critical studies showed a high level of philological culture and a refined taste. His Italian work *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de'Ragusei* (2 volumes, Dubrovnik 1802-1803) is still a useful reference for the literary and cultural history of Dubrovnik. His younger brother Urban published, as a supplement to a collection of his own verse (*Carmina*, Dubrovnik 1811) on pages 193-344 a selection from the work of Dubrovnik Latin poets, the first and until 1969 the only anthology of Croatian Latin poets, though it was incomplete and not sufficiently critical, especially as regards the humanistic period.

There were innumerable workers in the field of Latin poetry in the eighteenth and nineteenth century in Dubrovnik. At that time mainly poetry was written, especially occasional poems, of varying literary merit.

These great men of letters of the Dubrovnik Latin Parnassus should be singled out from average poets ; whether they lived in Dubrovnik, which opened slowly and with difficulty to the spirit of enlightenment coming from Europe, or in foreign countries, their writings demolished national and class barriers and their talent produced works in poetry and prose which transcended the influence of Antiquity and Italy, and, to some extent, of France and England.

In the period of the French (1806) and the final Austrian (1814) occupation of Dubrovnik, some writers tried, with conviction or without it, to discover certain advantages of Austrian rule and life in the no longer free city ; others regretted deeply the time of the French rule. However, all of them, with the exception of the circle of French sympathisers around Rafo Andrović, show a longing for the irretrievably past days when the City flew the flag of the Republic of St Blasius bearing the proud inscription "Libertas".

At that time there were a few writers who were striving toward higher aesthetic criteria (e.g. Rastić), or, at the time of early European romanticism,

pointed to national values in literature (e.g. Ferić, Bruerević).

Only in contact with the Croatian Revival in the nineteenth century did the Dubrovnik writers emerge from their isolation. The first to join the Revival was Antun Kaznačić, and the house of his son Ivan August became a well-known meeting-place of the Croatian Revivalists (Gaj, Trnski, Preradović, Kukuljević). In the unity between the old Croatian literature in Dubrovnik and the new Croatian literature, in which Zagreb affirmed itself as the main centre, Dubrovnik writers again found their real *raison d'être*. The centuries-old tradition of Dubrovnik literature began to flow in the new veins of the Croatian Revival in Zagreb. At the sunset of Latin literature both in Dubrovnik and in Northern Croatia, this literary collaboration was a clear indication and an anticipation of the realization of a firm link of all Croatian regions in political life, already envisaged by some humanists.

3

Relations between Croatian Latinists

In spite of the fact that, through many centuries, Croatian literature developed in many different centres, separated not only by distance but also by different administrative, political, and economic regimes, a strong relationship between Croatian writers from various regions never ceased to exist. The fact that the Croatian ethnic territory was disunited, and that its literature developed simultaneously in several dialects and orthographies, as well as the various foreign influences and the existence of several independent regions (Dubrovnik, Venetian Dalmatia and Istria, Central Croatia, Slavonia and a part of Bosnia and Hercegovina) created an impression of national non-coherence and even of national difference. This impression resulted also from different local and regional names of writers and regions (e.g. Dalmatian, Dubrovnik, Slavonian, Bosnian writers). In this we can find, *si parva licet componere magnis*, some analogy to the situation in ancient Greek literature, which - in spite of the existence of several distant and specific literary centres and regions, political differences, various dialects and specific literary traditions - is pervaded by a common ethnic and cultural spirit.

The contact between Croatian writers sprang not only from identical aesthetic motives and ideas but also from the common national feeling. Thus, Vidali of Korčula, in his answer to an epistle by Nikola Nalješković of Dubrovnik (1564), sent an enthusiastic poem to him :

*Oh, Nicholas, you are the honour we praise,
You are the glory and fame of the Croatian language,
An excellent poet full of virtues.*

and to his hometown :

*Dubrovnik, a city full of beauty and glory, (...)
the crown of all Croatian towns.*

It is, for instance, not without significance for the literary relations between the southern and northern Croats that in 1597 Dominko Zlatarić devoted a book containing works “translated from several foreign languages into Croatian”, to Juraj Zrinski, the son of the hero of Sziget, and Vladislav Menčetić his *Trublja slovinska* (Slavonic Trumpet, 1663) to the banus and poet Petar Zrinski, praising him as the Slavonic Apollo and Mars ; he says in one place :

*In the waves of slavery
Italy would have sunk long ago ,
Were it not for the Croatian resistance
To the Ottoman sea.*

The powerful impact of Katančić's collection *Fructus auctumnales* on the generation of Revivalists is also well-known. Not to speak of the influence of *Smrt Smail-Age Ćengića* (Smail-age Ćengić's Death 1846), an aesthetically unique result of the awareness of the century - long links and continuity of the Croatian literary language, an epic influenced by Antiquity, national poetry and by Kačić and Marulić, written in the štokavian, Gundulić's dialect by a čakavian speaker, Mažuranić, and published in the kaikavian Zagreb.

It is less well known, and therefore not so often pointed out, how much Croatian Latinists were united by similar or identical ideas and national and aesthetic preoccupations. By virtue of the Latin language they all shared, they belonged to the international “literary republic”, relying on the same models of Antiquity and influenced by similar contemporary currents. This makes them supra-national and cosmopolitan, because they are part of the universal phenomenon of Latin literature, which transcended all frontiers - political, social, national and religious. But in the politically disunited Croatian regions, the Latin language was the real linguistic and spiritual *koine*, the language of scientific works and of a part of literature itself. For many Croatian writers Latin was a supra-regional living link in scientific and literary work. This was of major importance in Croatian conditions. The Latin language not only did not estrange Croatian writers from the essential problems of their people and the literature in the mother tongue, but even acted, especially after the seventeenth century, as a firm link between individual writers and whole regions in a common awareness of the same military, political and cultural dangers in the guise of the Turks, Venetians, Hungarians or Austrians.

The manifold interlacing of contacts and the mutual influence of ideas and literary themes in writing in the vernacular and in Latin - including personal

acquaintances and literary stimuli among contemporaries and the feeling of artistic and cultural continuity in later writers - can be illustrated by a number of examples.

In the early period of Croatian humanism the young Marulić sent an epistle in prose to Juraj Šižgorić, pointing out that some of Šižgorić's poems are read all over Italy and admiring his "nearly divine scholarship", "the artistic harmony of his words" and his "sound and new ideas". Later, Marulić established a close contact with the Dominican writer Dominik Buća from Kotor, who prompted him to write that famous epistle to Pope Hadrian VI. Ludovik Paskalić of Kotor not only exchanged epistles with the humanist Jeronim Bartučević, "the Atticus of Hvar", but warmly welcomed poetry in the vernacular by Hanibal Lucić.

In the first decades of the sixteenth century, Ludovik Crijević Tuberon of Dubrovnik, in his historical *Commentaries* (*Commentaria de temporibus suis*), evokes the memory of the Croatian poet Česmički of Korvin's circle. In some of his letters, A. Vrančić of Šibenik, a distinguished diplomat at the Hungarian and Austrian court and a high church prelate, remembers with warmth his native country and stresses his Croatian origin. It was to Vrančić in a foreign land that B. Karnarutić of Zadar devoted his work *Izvarsita ljubav i napokom nemila i nesrićna smart Pirama i Tizbe* (*The Excellent Love and the Unfortunate and Tragic Death of Pyramus and Thisbe*).

While in the eighteenth century Croatian literature was spreading in northern regions, which at that time began to catch up with the rest of the country in the field of culture, Southern Croatia lost its literary leadership after the death (1737) of Ignjat Đurđević; Dubrovnik, however, remained the classical literary model.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, Pavao Ritter Vitezović emerged as "the first builder of political and cultural unity of all Croats, and in his *Croatia rediviva*, of all south Slavs" (Fancev). In the spirit of a stronger feeling of cultural unity between Croatian regions, which is characteristic of that whole period, the Zagreb canon Krčelić followed Vitezović's example: he was acquainted with Kačić's writings - and Kačić used the works of the northern writers Ratkaj, Vitezović and Bedeković -, defended Relković, was in correspondence with the Dubrovnik historian Miho Milišić and read Gundulić's *Osman*.

Kačić is also mentioned by Katančić in his book *Specimen philologiae et geographiae Pannoniorum* (Zagreb 1795). Antun Kanižlić of Požega mentions expressly that he followed I. Đurđević's advice to use the vernacular in scientific writings as well. Katančić accredits southern Croatian writers with classical values by extolling their rival Kanižlić, the author of *Sveta Rožalija* (Saint Rosalia) (... *Raguseos aliosque Dalmatas ... si non superaverit, aemulatus certe*

est ... - if he did not exceed Dubrovnik poets and other Dalmatians ..., he at least equalled them ...). Katančić, a grammar school teacher in Osijek and then in Zagreb, where his Latin and Croatian collection *Fructus auctumnales* was published in 1791, is a happy combination of mediator and stimulator. In Latin poetry a classicist, in Croatian poetry both a classicist and an admirer of the values of the national Muse, his literary criticism established Dubrovnik literature as the classical model among Croatian Revivalists. His treatise *In veterem Croatorum patriam indagatio philologica* (*Philological Research on the Ancient Homeland of the Croats*, Zagreb 1790), in which he claims that the Croats are indigenous inhabitants of Pannonia and Dalmatia, contributed most to the Revivalists' belief that the Croats were direct descendants of the Illyrians.

Few Croatian Latinists equal the Zagreb writer Baričević in the scope of his interests, his cultural and historical importance and his fruitful activity as mediator. In close contact with cultural and literary life in all Croatian regions, he, like Katančić, considered Đurđević and Kanižlić the foremost representatives of Croatian poetry (*principes Illyrici carminis*).

The close contact between the Croatian Revivalists - some of whom wrote in Latin as well (e.g. Štoos, I. Mažuranić) - and their contemporaries in Dubrovnik, the collaboration of Dubrovnik writers in the magazines of that period, the fruitful personal contacts and the numerous manuscripts which the writers of Dubrovnik presented as a gift to the Revivalists are subjects about which scholars know a good deal.

The Revivalists enriched the awareness of the links between Croatian regions with "the modern idea of organic unity of the nation as a whole as the carrier of historical life" (Kombol). In his work *Genius patriae* (Zagreb 1832), written at the moment of the birth of the Croatian Revival, Derkos used Hugo Grotius' verses as his motto :

*O patria salve lingua ! Quam suam fecit
Nec humilis unquam, nec superba libertas...*

(Hail, language of our fathers ! your companion is freedom, never obsequious nor haughty...) - conscious of the national and linguistic continuity of the Croats.

Literary Genres and Forms

P o e t r y.

From the Renaissance (Šižgorić, Česmički) to the last shoots of Latin literature in Croatia in the nineteenth century (Ferić, Hidža), *l y r i c s* appear in all their variety of forms and meters. In metrical patterns Croatian Latinists follow classical models, especially Horatian and Sapphic strophes. Their subjects range from typically classical (notably mythological) to patriotic, from love to encomiastic, religious and moralistic subjects. Besides general lyrical themes, which the Croatian poets share with Roman poets, especially Horace and Catullus, and with contemporaries in Europe, the wide range of their lyrics is inspired by their own intimate feelings, fears and hopes resulting from the specific conditions of their environment.

E l e g i e s, though always composed in the traditional elegiac couplet, differ widely in their themes. Besides love themes, which were very frequent already in Roman poets, Croatian poets present in their elegies very discerning observations about the people, the world and morals of their time, they analyse contemporary social and political events and bring vivid autobiographical reminiscences, idyllic descriptions of their native landscape, and philosophical and religious thoughts inspired by life or literature. In terms of the highly specific conditions in Croatia, a particular place is taken by the patriotic elegy, the most frequent theme of which is, nearly to the point of obsession, a sombre apprehension or bitter experience, gained from a direct encounter with the Turkish invaders or from a general encroachment of foreigners on the poet's country.

E p i g r a m m a t i c poetry, the condensed expression of the moment and a direct reaction to conditions in life and literature, is the poetic form least connected with classical models in Croatian Latin, and is therefore significant as a reflection of cultural, historical, literary and social conditions in Croatia. Its main characteristic is, no doubt, a satirical note : it is pointed at individuals and groups, at native or imported ideas and habits. Epigrams, like elegies, are written mainly in the classical elegiac couplet, in which, besides the usual metres, the most frequently used metres are hendecasyllabics, iambic senarii and the choliambic verse. Of the Croatian Latinists Česmički, I.Đurđević, Kunić and Ferić reached the highest level in epigrammatic poetry. However, many other poets occasionally and with success tried their hand in this always attractive form. A unique and the most important model for all Croatian epigrammatists was the great master of the epigram - Martial.

Akin to the satirical epigram is the hexametric *s a t i r e*, which in Croatian Latinists also preserved the tone of the Horatian satire (*ridendo dicere verum*), with the occasional moralising indignation of Juvenal. Its most prominent and gifted representative in Croatia is Džono Rastić. Since the main source of material for satirical poetry is contemporary life, the satires of Croatian literature in Latin are important for a study of the less obvious facets of public and private life at the time they were written.

Of the numerous authors of *e p i s t l e s* in verse, a form that originated in Antiquity and was particularly popular during the period of humanism, the most prominent are the Dubrovnik poets I. Crijević, who wrote elegies and poems (*carmina*) in the manner and style of the epistle, Kunić, Džamanjić, Ferić and Rastić. Their epistles cover a wide and differing range of subjects. They are not restricted to dedications and friendly chatting, but encompass philosophical, literary and, frequently, political and social problems. Regardless of their themes, these epistles are modelled on Horace both in their poetic expression and in the metre they use, which is the hexameter.

The poetry of Croatian Latinists also includes, though to a less extent, the *p a s t o r a l*, written in the style of Vergil's eclogues. It is found, for example, in the poetry of D. Benešić (with frequent allusions to contemporary conditions), B. Bošković and A.A. Baričević. Pastoral elements also occur occasionally in the poetry of L. Paskalić.

Besides original works, Croatian Latinists also wrote *f r e e p a r a p h r a s e s* (*paraphrasis poetica*). A frequent subject of paraphrase were the Psalms and Roman lyrics, especially those by Horace. In the paraphrase the text of the original was amplified and complemented in the process of which the original, as a rule, lost its conciseness. Furthermore, various lyrical verses and stanzas were almost as a rule replaced by the hexameter or the elegiac couplet, the most frequent and the most suitable metre for poetic description. Paraphrasing, the poet himself tried to penetrate more deeply into the lyrical meaning of the original, offering the reader an easier approach to more complex lyrical units. The paraphrase was also a popular exercise in diction and versification in schools.

The first prominent representative of the *e p i c*, which has a long tradition in Croatian poetry in Latin, is the Dubrovnik poet Jakov Bunić. A humanist, Bunić first wrote the mythological epic *De raptu Cerberi* (*The Rape of Cerberus*, about 1490-1500); his last work was the long religious epic *De vita et gestis Christi* (*The Life and Deeds of Christ*, 1526), published nine years before the famous epic *Christias* by the Italian humanist Girolamo Vida. This epic makes him one of the most important epic poets of the Christian Renaissance. Bunić's work served as model to another Dubrovnik poet, Damjan Benešić, in his epic *De morte Christi* (*Christ's Death*). The creation of the world, original sin and

redemption through Christ's death is the theme of the epic *Solimais* (i.e. a poem about Jerusalem, Rome 1509), written by the Šibenik humanist Ivan Polikarp Severitan.

The foremost representative of the humanistic circle of Split, Marko Marulić, wrote, besides *Judita*, which is the first epic in Croatian, *Davidias*, a Christian epic only recently discovered. It is Marulić's longest poetic work in Latin, and it illustrates how the mere presentation of acts from the Bible can, when written by a great artist, grow into work of great literary value.

While the poet-humanist was usually preoccupied with the traditional subjects of Greek or Latin mythology or with the Bible in the spirit of the Christian Renaissance, the Latin epic among the Croats also reflected the philosophical thought and the progress of natural sciences of the eighteenth century. A scientist of world renown, Ruđer Bošković of Dubrovnik, who mainly wrote in prose, in an epic - *De Solis ac Lunae defectibus* (*The Eclipses of the Sun and the Moon*) presents in hexameters a subject from astronomy. His contemporary and friend, Benedikt Stay, also from Dubrovnik and also a priest, chose the form of the epic to recount with Lucretian enthusiasm the philosophy of Descartes (*Philosophiae versibus traditae libri VI - Philosophy Presented in Verse, 6 Books*) and the principles of Newton's physics (*Philosophiae recentioris versibus traditae libri X - Recent Philosophy Presented in Verse, 10 Books*).

At the wane of Latin literature in Dalmatia, Josip Ćobarnić of Makarska (1790-1852) in his epic *Dioclias* (three books in hexameters and differing stanzaic patterns) depicted, under considerable influence from Vergil and Horace, the last days of the Roman Emperor Diocletian and the beginnings of the Church of Split.

Džamanjić's brief epics *Echo*, and *Navis aëria* (*The Air Ship*) are an interesting presentation of contemporary achievements in science, brought into connection with classical myths. In his epic poem *Navis Ragusina* (*A Dubrovnik Ship*) Galjuf describes the launching of a ship at Gruž. The poem contains several beautiful descriptions of the Dubrovnik landscape and reminiscences from Dubrovnik's cultural past.

Regardless of their themes, all Croatian epic poets took Vergil as their principal, if not their only, model both in verse and diction. This is why they introduce conversation into their narrative and use plastic metaphors and, even in Christian epics, numerous mythological elements.

P r o s e

In the abundance of works in prose of the several centuries of Latin literature in Croatia, hundreds of legal, mathematical, physical, medical and other treatises were written which cannot be classed as artistic literature. It is

more difficult to determine the degree of literary qualities in the works that are on the borderline between scientific and artistic prose, e.g. many theological and philosophical writings, literature of travel and even grammatical and lexicographical works.

In the Latin literature of Croatia there is no fictional prose narrative, i.e. no novels and short stories. As in other European literatures, free and comparatively more modern prose forms were, as a rule, left to the literature in the vernacular. Latin was reserved mainly for scholarly prose.

In evaluating what to class as artistic prose in Croatian Latin, two factors must be given equal weight: the strong influence of Greek and Roman tradition - e.g. in historiography, rhetorics, literary history, criticism and essays and epistolography - as well as the inner qualities of individual stylistic and psychological shaping. Together with philosophical prose, the literary forms that have just been mentioned would certainly be categorized under artistic literature by the traditional classical criteria. But what also makes them works of art is the immanent literary value of many works as a whole or of units within individual literary works. Powerful inspiration and a high artistic achievement can occasionally be found in works whose purpose is either mainly scholarly (philosophical and theological prose) or religious, moralistic or political.

Without entering into detailed analysis we shall, however, mention a number of more important writers in each of these prose forms. The foremost author of historiographic prose is the brilliant stylist L. Crijević Tuberon; other prominent historiographers include S. Brodarić (who wrote a dramatic description of the Battle of Mohač 1526), Pribojević (who extols the Slavs), and, in the seventeenth century, the all-Croatian and all-Slav visionary Vitezović.

In rhetoric, which mainly deals with diplomatic, political, religious and theological themes, several authors stand out for their pathos: Nikola Modruški, whose speech on the death of Cardinal P. Riario is the first printed work by a Croatian author (1474); Ilija Crijević, better known as a poet, Šimun Kožičić-Benja, Fran Frankopan and Trankvil Andreis; A. Vrančić excels by the harmonious composition of his writings and R. Kunić by his carefully chosen Ciceronian diction. Mention should also be made of two brilliant stylists, separated by more than three centuries and by different opinions, but sharing the same strong belief and mastery of phrasing: the humanist and religious reformer of Croatian origin, Andrija Dudić, and the Bishop of Đakovo, Josip Juraj Strossmayer: the former acquired fame at the Council of Trent and the latter at the first Vatican Council.

The field of history of literature contains works marked by lucid observations on style, and the field of criticism and essays presents a number of meritorious aesthetic, historical and comparative studies. The

eighteenth century saw the most prolific literary historians and biographers (e.g. I. Đurđević and S. Crijević) and - after I. Crijević in the fifteenth and S. Gradić in the seventeenth century - the critics and literary theoreticians Katančić, Kunić, Džamanjić, the brothers Appendini and others.

In literary epistolography the most valuable passages were written by A. Vrančić, and A.A. Baričević. Among other numerous epistolographers mention should be made of Marulić, I. Crijević, Jakov Baničević and Ferić.

In the field of philosophical prose the best works from the literary point of view are those written by the humanists Nikola Modruški, Juraj Dragišić (from Srebrenica in Bosnia, fifteenth century) and F. Petrić; in the theological writings Vlačić and Dominis expressed individual rebellion in authentic stylistic pathos.

Religious and moralistic literature, aimed at the application of Christian ethics in everyday life, was a means for writers like N. Modruški and M. Marulić to express, in many a passage marked by a warm tone, their general humanitarian attitude, for which their works were particularly appreciated abroad.

Diarium (The Diary) by Baltazar Patačić and *Annuae* by B.A. Krčelić are characteristic examples of memoir literature. In the literature of travel and ethnography important contributions came from Nikola Modruški and A. Vrančić already mentioned, and particularly from Bartol Đurđević (also called Georgijević, sixteenth century), whose lively prose, partly autobiographical and pervaded by propaganda against the Turks and inspired by the vision of their expulsion from Europe, had a great impact both on the leading political personalities and on the general public of his time. A writer of the same order was Filip Vezdin (Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, eighteenth century), the author of the first printed Sanskrit grammar and of numerous important paragraphs on Indian cultural history, literature and mythology.

As far as political prose is concerned, few of these categories are devoid of a more or less conspicuous political tinge. The most prominent representative of political prose is P. Vitezović. *Genius patriae* written at the dawn of the Croatian Revival by Ivan Derkos, also belongs to this category. This brief work is aimed at proving the need for linguistic and orthographical unity of all the Croates from central Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. (We are linked with the Dalmatians, says Derkos, by *fraternus et mysticus aliquis... amor* - a fraternal and mystical ... love, ever since the time of King Petar Krešimir). But *Genius patriae* (1832) has a marked political tendency, common to all Revivalists, to make the language a means in the struggle for political and national equality of the Croats in resisting Germanization and Magyarization.

Taken as a whole, the prose of the Croatian Latinists attained the highest literary level and the greatest diversity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

It is of interest for cultural history in general that the Croatian Latinist Pavao Skalić published the work *Encyclopaediae seu orbis disciplinarum tam sacrarum quam prophanarum epistemon* (*An Encyclopaedic Handbook both Sacred and Secular*, Basel 1559), in which he was the first to use the word *encyclopaedia* in a meaning similar to its present-day use. Skalić's work was preceded by a partly encyclopedic work under the title *Lexicon* by I. Crijević, written during the poet's stay in Rome, preserved in manuscript. Encyclopaedic elements are to be found in the first Croatian-Latin dictionary by Bartol Đurđević, published in Antwerp in 1544.

D r a m a

Compared with other literary forms, drama in the Latin literature of Croatia did not achieve a high literary level, and what is more, very few texts have been preserved. Though the Latin language was carefully nurtured in Croatia through many centuries it could not penetrate into wider circles, and Latin drama could not expect to have large audiences. However, mention should be made of the fact that in Jesuit colleges students performed plays in Latin on biblical and historical themes with a pedagogical and moralistic object. The small number of the preserved school plays, as well as the titles and contents of these that have not been preserved, suggest that their literary standard was not very high. One of the authors of such plays was Kazimir Bedeković, who wrote several plays in prose for the Croatian College in Vienna : *Ioseph* (published in Vienna in 1778), and two plays under the title *Hilaria ante cineres* (*Merry Plays before Ash Wednesday*, Vienna 1780), depicting the lives of St. Bernard and St. Justin.

Under the influence of Vitezović's political ideas, patriotic themes are introduced into Latin school plays. They extol famous personalities and events from Croatian history (e.g. Juraj and Nikola Zrinski, Ivan Drašković ; the victory at Sisak 1593).

General Notes on the Language and Style of Croatian Latinists

It is a well-known fact that the language of European humanists is not the continuation of medieval Latin, which followed an organic development and became more and more different from classical Latin, but an artificially transplanted Latin of the classical period. The spread of humanism in Croatia was mostly enhanced by the influence from neighbouring Italy, where that movement sprang up and flourished. Though they could have relied on the native medieval tradition, Croatian humanists followed the spirit of their time and wrote in the language of classical models, the foremost of whom were Cicero and Vergil. In later centuries, owing to the changed and more varied subjects as well as to the influence of modern languages, their language departed from the original models. This is well illustrated by, for example, the differences in style between Marulić, a typical representative of Croatian humanism, and Krčelić, an eighteenth century author, who uses a rather corrupt Latin.

In poetry, the language did not undergo any significant changes, owing largely to the fact that Croatian poets adhered closely to Roman classical verse, stanza and diction. They took over the classical metrical patterns with a long-standing tradition as standard models and neither changed them nor created new ones. Building their verse on the quantitative principle, they reached a remarkably high level in prosody, to which great attention was paid in the schools of that period, where Latin was the main subject. The major part of their poetry is up to the mark, at least from the formal, prosodic and linguistic aspect. This is all the more remarkable considering the fact that Latin was not the mother tongue of their authors.

The training in rhetoric in schools, which was based on a close adherence to Roman models in poetry and prose, gave the Croatian Latinists in general and poets in particular, a rich repertoire of stylistic and thematic *loci communes*, which formed a part of European poetry, especially that in Latin, down the centuries. They include standing expressions, general formulas, poetic imagery, and composition technique. The rich and picturesque mythological reminiscences were also an integral part of poetry, enabling the poet to transplant these patterns, while following closely his classical source, on to new, contemporary themes. The language of poetry, therefore, abounds in metaphors and metonymies, which are not mere poetic decoration but an organic part of poetic thinking and experience. This is the reason for the frequent occurrence of mythological names and associations even in poems inspired by religion.

6

The Latinists' attitude towards the National Literature and Language

The literature in Latin preceded the literature in the vernacular among the Croats and later developed alongside it until the middle of the nineteenth century. The awareness of the values of the vernacular literature continues from the earliest to the latest Croatian Latinists. As early as the fifteenth century, J. Šižgorić of Šibenik, though he did not write in Croatian himself, praises in enthusiastic words the values of the national Muse, ranking them higher than classical literature. He was the first Croat to collect popular proverbs and translate them into Latin. Popular poetry was greatly appreciated by one of the last Croatian Latinists, Đ. Ferić of Dubrovnik, who even translated folksongs into Latin (e.g. *Hasanaginica*) and described folk customs in some of his epistles, praising them together with folksongs.

Though the majority of Croatian humanists wrote almost all of their works in Latin, I. Crijević's antagonistic attitude to the literature in the vernacular, which he derisively calls *stribiligo Illyrica* (the Illyrian misfit), is rather an exception than the rule. L. Paskalić from Kotor wrote only in Latin but was at the same time an ardent admirer of the "new Dalmatian lyre", i.e., the Croatian poetry of Hanibal Lucić. The whole development of Latin literature shows that there was no antagonism between it and the literature in the vernacular. Several outstanding Latinists wrote both in Latin and Croatian, e.g. Marulić, Vitezović, Đurđević, Katančić, Ferić. With his *Judita*, "written in Croatian in verse", Marulić set the course for the beginning of Croatian literature; I. Đurđević's works in Croatian make him one of the prominent representatives of the Croatian baroque. In one of his epistles Džamanjić expresses regret that he does not know his mother tongue well enough to be able to use it to write an original epic in becoming literary form or to translate Homer.

7

Croatian Latinists as Translators

Though not very abundant, the Croatian Latinists' work in translating is characteristic for the general picture of the development of Latin literature in Croatia.

A special place must be accorded to translations from Greek which are particularly numerous in the eighteenth century. The particular affinity of the

translators and the spirit of the time influenced, no doubt, the choice of Greek authors. We shall mention several names. During the Renaissance, Ivan Vitez od Sredne translated Demosthenes, Česmički translated Demosthenes, Plotinus, Plutarch, Homer and a number of epigrams, Matija Grbić Hesiod's *Works and Days* and Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, Petrić translated Proclus and the so called Hermes Trismegistos, Matija Bobaljević Basil the Great, and Matija Benešić Aristotle's treatise *De anima*. The most prolific and aesthetically the best translators were Kunić and Džamanjić (eighteenth century). Besides Theocritus and numerous epigrams from the *Greek Anthology*, Kunić translated the whole *Iliad* (1776) in the verse pattern of the original. This translation brought him general recognition during his lifetime and was compared to the best works of the Latin Muse ; later and in the criticism of today it is nearly unanimously considered as the best Latin translation of Homer's epic. Džamanjić acquired great fame both in his country and in Italy with his translations of the Greek bucolic poets (Moschus, Bion, Theocritus), Hesiod's poems and Homer's *Odyssey* (1777), which in many aspects equals the translation of the *Iliad* by his master Kunić.

Another translator of Greek poetry (from the *Iliad*, Theocritus, Pindar and Sappho) was Džono Rastić.

Translations from Croatian into Latin are by far less numerous than the original works in either of the two languages in our literature. Historical and patriotic motives led Marko Marulić to translate *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* (*Priest Dukljanin's Chronicle*, from Papalić's transcript) under the title *Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae gesta*. Đurđević translated into Latin the first canto of his epic *Uzdasi Mandaljene pokornice* (*The Sighing of Maria Magdalena*), and E. Pavić published an abridged paraphrase of Kačić's *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* (*Pleasant Talks of the Slavonic People*). The most prolific translator was Ferić, who translated folk songs and proverbs and Menčetić's *Radonja*. This short comic poem was translated once more by Džamanjić, whose translation in hexameters of 36 lines from the fifth canto of Gundulić's *Osman* has also been preserved. In the nineteenth century a free translation of *Osman* in Latin hexameters by Blaž Getaldić was published in Venice.

Croatian Latinists also translated literary works of other European nations. Marulić, to mention only some of them, translated into Latin the first canto of Dante's *Inferno* and Petrarca's canzone *Vergine bella, che di sol vestita*, A. Vrančić a Turkish chronicle, Luko Bunić a poem by Quevedo from Spanish, and A. Krša several poems by Pindemonte and Monti.

The Work of Croatian Latinists outside their Homeland

The materials that have been discovered and studied so far would almost suffice for a rounded history of Croatian literature in Latin written abroad. It would include writers of all centuries, from early humanism to the last offshoots in the nineteenth century, every literary form and, most important, some of the best representatives of literature and science of their time.

During the period of humanism there existed two circles in which men from Croatia took a very active part and set the tone : the court of the Hungarian-Croatian king Mathias Corvinus (Matija Korvin, 1458-1490) and the court of Ivan Zapolja. At the former, the most influential personality was Ivan Vitez od Sredne, born in the parish of Križevci, who was Korvin's tutor and a versatile organizer of artistic and scientific activity (he founded the University and the Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, and the Library of Buda). The most gifted poet in Korvin's circle was Vitez's nephew, Česmički ; other prominent members include Ivan Polikarp Severitan of Šibenik, Petar Džamanjić and Feliks Petančić of Dubrovnik, Juraj Augustin of Zagreb and many others.

The following prominent writers worked at the court of Ivan Zapolja : Stjepan Brodarić, who was State Chancellor, Antun Vrančić, Juraj Utišenić, Trankvil Andreis, etc.

Many of the above mentioned Latinists studied in Italy : this fact, together with the talent of the participants and the beneficial atmosphere which surrounded them at the court, explains why Korvin's circle was for several decades one of the centres of European humanism.

Some Croatian writers worked in these circles only for a brief period (e.g. Crijević Tuberon and Nikola Modruški), some of them were actively involved in the complex political conflicts between Hungary, Poland and Bohemia (A. Vrančić and J. Utišenić), and some continued their work as writers and teachers in other countries (e.g. Polikarp Severitan in Italy, T. Andreis in various diplomatic services in Europe).

There is no European country with important humanistic centres in which Croats did not work in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Italy, for example, prominent teachers were Tripun Bizanti, Nikola Bolica and Ljudevit Pima from Kotor ; Nikola Modruški, Juraj Dragišić, the intrepid defender of Savonarola and Reuchlin, F. Petrić, the most original Croatian philosopher-humanist and a vehement opponent of Aristotelianism, were members of the diplomatic service and worked as tutors and teachers in that country. Toma iz Ilirije (Thomasus Illyricus), a Franciscan born at Vrana near

Biograd na moru, worked in France, where he was famous for his learned discussions and the defence of Catholicism against Luther; the philosopher Benko Benković from Zadar acquired a high reputation in Paris, where he was called *monarcha scientiarum*. Luther's and Melanchton's pupil, Matija Grbić of Istria lectured at German universities. His younger countryman Matija Vlačić (Matthias Flacius Illyricus), "the Achilles of pure Lutheranism", who established the philosophy of Protestantism with Melanchton, was a prominent lecturer and taught at several German universities; a special philosophical-technical current of Protestantism, "Flacianism", was named after his latinized surname. Pavao Skalić from Zagreb, an adventurous personality, adherent of Protestantism at first and its fierce opponent later in life, taught in Germany for a while and later entered into diplomatic service. Andrija Dudić, born at Orahovica near Krapina, also led a tumultuous life and held various ecclesiastical and political posts in Germany and other countries. For a long time he lived in Cracow and was in friendly contact with, among others, the most important Polish humanist poet Jan Kochanowski. Other Croatian humanists who lived for some time in Poland include Vinko Pribojević, Trankvil Andreis, Skalić and A. Vrančić, whose collections of poems *Elegiae* and *Otia* were published in Cracow. Dominis stayed in Italy and, for a while, in England, where his major works were published.

The share of Croatian Latinists in European humanism is also indicated by the fact that several of them became poets laureate in Italy, e.g. Petar Menčetić and Ilija Crijević of Dubrovnik, Bernard Pima of Kotor, Polikarp Severitan of Šibenik, and Matija Andreis of Trogir. Among the pioneers of the art of printing in Europe were two famous printers of Croatian origin: Andrija Paltašić of Kotor and Dobrić Dobrićević of Lastovo (Boninus de Boninis).

In the seventeenth century one of the distinguished personalities of the circle of Queen Christina of Sweden in Rome was Stjepan Gradić, custodian and director of the Vatican Library. He procured works in Croatian by Dubrovnik writers for the library of Cosimo de' Medici III. His tireless efforts to help his native town, especially after the earthquake (1667), brought him the title "reconstructor of Dubrovnik".

The Franciscan Mate Frkić from the island of Krk (Matthaeus Ferchius Veglensis) was a distinguished professor of Scotist philosophy at the University of Padua.

In the eighteenth century four men from Dubrovnik reached very high posts in Rome, and, entering into the most distinguished literary and social circles, made a great contribution to the prestige of their native country. The already famous Bošković brought Stay to Rome, who was appointed professor of rhetoric at the Archigymnasium, archpresbyter of St. Hieronymus and held important posts in the papal office. When his scientific interests induced Bošković to leave Rome for France, England, and later for northern Italy (where

he became director of the observatory in Brera), the intimate friendship and collaboration between the famous poet and the great astronomer and physicist went on for several decades. Kunić, too, acquired great literary and social recognition after his studies: he was professor of rhetoric and the Greek language at the Collegium Romanum, a welcome and famed member of the salon of Maria Pizzelli (to whom he devoted many epigrams under the name of Lyda), a friend of Duke Odescalchi who urged him and financially aided him to publish the *Iliad*, and was closely connected with intellectual circles in Rome (Alfieri, Monti, the sculptor Canova, the painter Mengs and others). Džamanjić studied under Bošković and Kunić in Rome, where he stayed until the dissolution of the Jesuit order, and then taught Greek at the universities in Siena and Milan until his return to Dubrovnik. Such was the literary fame of Stay, Kunić and Džamanjić that their reputation spread as far as France and England, so that Carducci could claim: small Dubrovnik gave Italy and the world the best Latin poets of the eighteenth century. We should only make one correction: the small Dubrovnik gave C r o a t i a and the world ...

Yet another writer from Dubrovnik, Galjuf, worked in Rome, Genua and Paris at the end of the eighteenth and in the first decades of the nineteenth century, for a time as university teacher. At the other end of Europe, at the University of Buda, the Slavonian Katančić taught archeology and numismatics from 1795 until 1800.

Some Croatian writers became members of the distinguished Italian *Accademia degli Arcadi*, which gathered both Italian and foreign prominent men of letters, e.g. Bošković, Stay, Kunić, Džamanjić and M.F. Galjuf.

Because of the high reputation they acquired abroad we shall mention several Croatian scientists in different fields, although the only link between most of them and Latin literature is the language they wrote in.

The Dubrovnik mathematician, physicist and astronomer Marin Getaldić-Ghetaldus (sixteenth/ seventeenth century) earned general recognition in Europe and was in lively correspondence with G. Galilei. M.A. Dominis, Getaldić's contemporary, was not only an outstanding writer of theological-philosophical works but also a famous physicist, whose work was appreciated even by Newton, and Goethe called him the forerunner of Descartes in the science of light. In 1595 Faust Vrančić, Antun's nephew, published a *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum* (*Dictionary of Five Most Famous European Languages*), i.e. of Latin, Italian, German, Croatian (which he calls Dalmatian) and Hungarian, to which Czech and Polish were added in the second edition. This is the first original Croatian work in the field of lexicography. Vrančić acquired greatest international fame with his work *Machinae novae*, which - besides other interesting technical devices - contains the oldest description of the parachute and the first picture of the parachutist (*homo*

volans) in the world. Đuro Baglivi of Dubrovnik (seventeenth and eighteenth century) was one of the authorities of European medicine, professor at the University of Rome and author of numerous medical works, published in more than 20 editions of collected works and translated into several European languages. His somewhat younger countryman Anselmo Banduri, a distinguished archeologist, numismatician and one of the first Byzantine scholars, who wrote a history of Byzantium and its antiquities in Latin, worked in Italy and in Paris, where he became member of the *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*. A prominent place among Croatian scientists must undoubtedly be reserved for Ruđer Bošković, who, already during his lifetime, enjoyed incontestable reputation as astronomer, physicist and mathematician at the best known European universities and academies, and his theory of dynamic atomistics still attracts, today more than ever, the attention of scientific circles in the world.

In the context of international exchange of ideas and literary currents, in which the Latin language and Latinists set the main tone for centuries, it is interesting to point out that some Croatian Latinists were translated into European modern languages, either in their country or abroad, ever since the time of humanism. Suffice it to mention only a few examples.

Marulić's works (especially his *De institutione bene beateque vivendi*) were often translated, into Italian in particular, as well as into German, French, Portuguese and Czech. Vuk Frankopan's speech at the Augsburg Assembly in 1530 was published simultaneously in the Latin and German translation. Pribojević's paper *De origine successibusque Slavorum* was published in Italian translation in 1595. Nearly all the works by Bartol Đurđević (sixteenth century) were translated into Italian, French, German, English, Dutch, Polish and Czech. Dominis' treatises, especially his *Suae profectionis consilium*, were translated into English, German, French, and Dutch. Dinko Zavorović's treatise *De rebus Dalmaticis*, written in 1602, was translated into Italian the next year (in manuscript). The complete text of Lučić's *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* was translated into Italian, as late as 1896 in Trieste. Bošković's works were translated into French and English. Stay's passage about the earthquake of Dubrovnik was translated into German by A. Rocci-Ročić, and all the three descriptions of the earthquake (those by Gradić, Rogačić, and Stay) into Italian by L. Stulli. Čobarnić's *Dioclias* was translated into Italian soon after it was published (1881).

The work of those Croatian Latinists who spent most of their lives or only some years in foreign countries is an integral part of the uniform organism of Croatian literature. In this place we have gathered the most prominent among them and mentioned the more important artistic and diplomatic circles with which they were associated, the religious and political movements in which they took an active part, first of all because, only too often, they are overlooked both at home and abroad. International scholarship often categorizes Croatian

Latinists as “European”, “Renaissance”, “(neo)classicist”, etc. or includes them in the national literatures of the countries in which they lived and published their works. It is often difficult to recognize the writer’s original Croatian name in its latinized or translated form, and their belonging to the Croatian literature and the Croatian people from which they originate is sometimes obscured by regional or town predicates they add to their names, calling themselves Illyrians, Dalmatians, Pannonians, Bosnians, Istrians, i.e. denoting the region from which they come, or else adding to their name that of their hometown - Šibenik, Kotor, Zagreb, Dubrovnik, and Hvar. Latin literature is, in the full sense of the word, European literature. Consequently, Croatian literature in Latin, despite its specific characteristics, is an integral part of it. In its various phases it was subject to the same process of borrowing and lending of themes, subjects and stylistic procedures which can be found in any developed literature. In this feature, too, the Croats were a part of European culture. There is none among small nations, and very few among the big ones (not one in Slavonic nations) which equals the Croats in their important and abundant contribution to European literature in Latin.

9

Manuscripts and Editions

*Multa sunt adhuc in scriniis recondita,
cariosa, utilia, quae lucem desiderant.*

A.A. Baričević

Croatian Latinists published most of their works outside their homeland, in various European countries, especially in Italy. Of the cultural centres in which their manuscripts were published the following should be mentioned : Venice, Rome, Padua, Amsterdam, Basel, Paris, London, Buda, Cracow, Vienna, Cologne. In Croatia the greatest number of their works was printed in Zagreb and Dubrovnik.

The major part of the works written by Croatian Latinists are still in manuscript only. That many of them worked outside their homeland is shown, among other things, by the numerous manuscripts preserved in libraries all over Europe, particularly in Rome, Venice, Vienna, Buda and Paris. However, a large part of their manuscripts are now in Croatia, in numerous monastic and public libraries and in the archives of Dubrovnik, Zagreb, Split, Zadar, etc. The largest collection of these manuscripts is kept in Dubrovnik, mainly in the library of the Franciscan Monastery.

As very many manuscripts of Croatian Latinists have not been studied at all or have been insufficiently studied, Croatian literary research is faced with an important and long-lasting task of making available, in printed editions, the unpublished manuscripts, scattered in libraries in Croatia and abroad. Baričević's remark in a letter to M. Denis in 1790 is still of topical interest : *Much is still hidden in chests and exposed to decay which is useful and should be published.*

Though some critical and philological reviews of the work of individual Croatian Latinists had appeared in Croatia earlier systematic and scientific work in this field started on the initiative of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb in the past century. In more recent times (1950), the Academy sponsored a special texts series entitled *Hrvatski latinisti* (*Croatian Latinists*). In the course of the twentieth century work on studying and publishing Croatian Latinists has been carried on outside the Academy as well.

*

E p i l o g u e

Many Croatian Latinists worked only in their native country, which, for many a century, was the scene of war and political struggle. Many of them worked outside their country, leaving it physically, but almost never in their heart, and travelled around Europe, driven by inexorable fate, guided by a passionate longing for knowledge and new discoveries, carried away by talent, vanity, defiance. The former and the latter belong to Croatian literature. And equally to Europe.

*

* *

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Marko Marulić i njegovo doba*, in the book : *Pjesme Marka Marulića* (Stari pisci hrvatski I), Zagreb 1869.
- F. Marković, *Filozofijski pisci od 15.-18. vieka u Dalmaciji*, Vienac, 1881, n° 44 (published also under the title *Filozofijske struke pisci hrvatskoga roda s onkraj Velebita u stoljećih XV-XVIII*, Rektorski govor prigodom instalacije dne 19. listopada 1881, Zagreb 1882).
- F. Rački, *Prilozi za poviest humanisma i renaissance u Dubrovniku, Dalmaciji i Hrvatskoj*, Rad Jugosl. akad. znan. i umj. 74, Zagreb 1885.

- K. Jireček, *Der ragusanische Dichter Šiško Menčetić* in : *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 19, Berlin 1897. Discusses the beginnings of Latin literature in Dubrovnik.
- K. Jireček, *Beiträge zur ragusanischen Literaturgeschichte*, in : *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 21, Berlin 1899. With a chapter on the Latin literature.
- T. Matić, *Hrvatski književnici mletačke Dalmacije i život njihova doba*, Rad Jugosl. akad. znan. i umj. 231 and 233, Zagreb 1925 and 1927.
- F. Fancev , *Dokumenti za naše podrijetlo hrvatskoga preporoda (1790-1832)*, Građa za povijest književnosti hrvatske 12, Zagreb 1933.
- M. Kombol , *Povijest hrvatske književnosti do narodnog preporoda*, Zagreb, 1st ed. 1945, 2nd ed. 1961.
- K. Krstić , *Humanizam kod južnih Slavena*, in : *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 4, Zagreb 1960.
- K. Krstić , *Latinitet kod južnih Slavena*, in : *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 5, Zagreb 1962.
- V. Gortan , *Iz starijeg hrvatskog latiniteta*, in : *Umjetnost riječi*, XI 4, Zagreb 1967.
- Š. Jurić , *Opera scriptorum Latinorum natione Croatarum usque ad annum MDCCCXLVIII typis edita*. Pars I. in : *Iugoslaviae scriptores Latini recentioris aetatis*, tomus I : *Index alphabeticus*, Zagrabiae MCMLXVIII ; tomus II : *Index systematicus*, Zagrabiae MCMLXXI, ed. Institutum historicum Academiae scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium.
- K. Georgijević ; *Hrvatska knjizevnost od 16. do 18. stoljeća u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj i Bosni*, Zagreb 1969.
- V. Gortan and V. Vratović, *Hrvatski latinisti/Croatici auctores qui Latine scripserunt*, vol. I-II, Zagreb 1969-1970.
- V. Vratović , *Karakterizacija i vrednovanje knjizevnosti hrvatskog latinizma (Neke pretpostavke)* in : *Umjetnost riječi*, XIV 1-2 , Zagreb 1970.

*
* * *

THE CROATIAN AND LATINIZED NAMES OF THE MORE IMPORTANT CROATIAN LATINISTS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Andreis, Fran Trankvil	- Andronicus, Tranquillus (Parthenius)
Baničević, Jakov	- Bannicius (Bannissius, de Bennissis), Jacobus
Barbula, v. Polikarp Severitan	
Baričević, Adam Alojzije	- Barichevich, Adamus Aloysius
Benešić, Damjan	- Benessa (Benessius), Damianus
Benković, Benko	- Bencovich, Benedictus
Bolica, v. Bona-Bolica	
Bona, v. Bunić	
Bona-Bolica, Ivan	- Bona de Bolicis, Ioannes
Bošković, Ruđer Josip	- Boscovich, Rogerius Josephus
Brezovački, Tito	- Brezovatsky, Titus
Brodarić, Stjepan	- Brodericus (Broderithus), Stephanus
Bruerević (Bruère), Marko	- Bruere Desrivauxius, Marcus
Bunić, Jakov	- Bonus, Iacobus
Cippico, Koriolan	- Cippicus, Coriolanus
Crijević, Ilija	- Cervinus (Cerva), Aelius Lampridius

Crijević, Saro	- Cerva, Seraphinus Maria
Crijević Tuberon, Ludovik	- Cerva Tubero, Ludovicus
Česmički, Ivan	- Pannonius, Ianus
Dobričević, Dobrić	- de Boninis, Boninus
de Dominis, Marko Antonije	- de Dominis, Marcus Antonius
Dragišić, Juraj	- Benignus (Salviatus, de Salviatis), Georgius
Dudić, Andrija	- Dudit(h)ius (Sbardellatus), Andreas
Džamanjić, Brno	- Zamagna, Bernardus
Đorđić, v. Đurđević, Ignjat	
Đurđević, Bartol	- Georgievits (-icz), Bartholomaeus
Đurđević, Ignjat	- Georgius, Ignatius
Eborensis, Jacobus Flavius, v. Pir, Didak	
Ferić, Duro	- Ferrich (Ferrichius), Georgius
Frankopan, Fran	- de Frangepanibus, Franciscus
Frankopan, Vuk	- de Frangepanibus, Vuolfgangus
Frkić, Mate	- Ferchius Veglensis, Matthaeus
Galjuf, Marko Faustin	- Gagliuffius, Marcus Faustinus
Georgijević, v. Đurđević, Bartol	
Gozze, v. Gučetić	
Gradić, Stjepan	- Gradius, Stephanus
Gučetić, Ivan	- Gotius, Iohannes
Gučetić, Nikola Vitov	- Gotius, Nicolaus Viti
Grbić/Grbac/, Matija	- Garbitius (Garbicius), Matthias
Hidža, Đuro	- Higgia, Georgius
Kašić, Bartol	- Cassius, Bartholomaeus
Katančić, Matija Petar	- Katancsich, Mathias Petrus
Kožić Benja, Šimun	- Begnius, Simon
Krčelić, Baltazar Adam	- Kercselich, Balthasar Adam
Kunić, Rajmund	- Cunichius, Raymundus
Lučić, Ivan	- Lucius, Joannes
Martinusius, v. Utišenić	
Marulić, Marko	- Marulus, Marcus
Menčetić, Petar	- Mentius (Menzius), Petrus
Nikola Modruški	- Nicolaus Machinensis (N., episcopus Modrussensis)
Paltašić, Andrija	- de Palthasichis (Catharensis), Andreas
Pannonius, Ianus, v. Česmički	
Paskalić, Ludovik	- Pascalis, Ludovicus
Pasquali (Paschale), v. Paskalić	
Patačić, Baltazar	- Pattachich, Balthasar
Patricije, v. Petrić	
Petančić, Feliks	- Petancius (Ragusinus Dalmata), Felix
Petrić, Franjo	- Patricius, Franciscus
Petrović, Vice	- Petrovich, Vincentius
Pima, Bernard	- Pima, Bernardus
Pima, Ljudevit	- Pima, Ludovicus
Pir, Didak	- Pyrrhus, Didacus (Jacobus Flavius Eborensis sive Lusitanus)
Polikarp Severitan, Ivan	- Policarpus Severitanus, Ioannes
Pribojević, Vinko	- Priboevius, Vincentius
Pucić, Karlo	- Puteus, Carolus
Rastić, Džono/Junije/	- Restius, Junius
Ratkaj, Juraj	- Rattkay, Georgius
Resti/de Restiis/, v. Rastić	

Ritter Vitezović, Pavao

Skalić, Pavao

Stay, Benedikt

Stoicus, v. Stojković

Štojčković, Ivan

Šižgorić, Juraj

Toma iz Ilirije

Utišenić, Juraj

Vezdin, Ivan Filip

Vitez od Sredne, Ivan

Vitezović, v. Ritter Vitezović

Vlačić iz Ilirije, Matija

Vrancius (Wrancius), v. Vrančić

Vrančić, Antun

Vrančić, Faust

Zamanja, v. Džamanjić

Zavorović, Dinko

- Ritter, Paulus

- Scalichius, Paulus

- Stay, Benedictus

- Ioannes de Ragusio (Stoicus)

- Sisgoreus, Georgius

- Thomasus Illyricus

- Utissenius, Georgius

- Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo

- Ioannes de Sredna

- Flacius Illyricus, Matthias

- Verantius, Antonius

- Verantius, Faustinus

- Zavoreus, Dominicus

University of Zagreb

POST-SCRIPTUM

The preceding text is an English version of the Croat introduction to the anthology *Hrvatski Latinisti*, published in two volumes at Zagreb in 1969-1970 (*Pet stoljeća Hrvatske Književnosti*, 2 and 3. The publishers are *Matica Hrvatska*, Zagreb, Ulica Matice hrvatske 2, and *Zora*, Zagreb, Prilaz JNA 2, Yugoslavia). This anthology, arranged in chronological order, contains excerpts from nearly all the authors discussed in the introduction. The texts are given both in the Latin original and Croat translation and are accompanied by bio-bibliographical notes and a portrait of the author.

On this occasion we should like to remember another bilingual Croat poet, our friend Ton Smerdel. He was born on the island of Silba on 21 April 1904 and died at Zagreb on 20 August 1970. As a scholar he is known for his contributions to the study of Leopardi, of whom he discovered an unknown youthful work. From 1940 on he published several volumes of lyrical poems in his native tongue (1). During the last ten years of his life he often wrote in Latin. These poems are to be found in journals such as *Živa Antika* (Skopje), *Platon* (Athens) and *Vita Latina* (Avignon) (2). Most of them have been collected in seven volumes: *Urna Parcarum* (Zagreb 1961), *Pontes lucentes* (ib. 1962), *Cantilenae* (Skopje 1965), *Palmae solis almae* and *Flatus cupressorum* (ib. 1967), *Sonatine* (Zagreb 1968) and *De cicadis et undis Parentinis* (Skopje 1969). Smerdel wrote neither in classical metres nor in mediaeval accentual verse, but always used free modern versification based essentially on the musical effects of the sounds.

Finally Smerdel translated ancient Greek poetry into Croatian, e.g. a large selection of the Greek Anthology (3). He also made many Latin renderings of modern Croatian lyrics.

J. Ijsewijn.

(1) *Iz moje korabljice* (1940); *Drvorezi* (1942); *Duša u plamenu* (1945); *Osmijeh Suđenica* (1962); *Moji Psalmi* (1968).

(2) Some poems are reprinted in: *Viva Camena. Latina huius aetatis carmina collecta et edita ab Iosepho Eberle* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1961), p. 177; J. Ijsewijn-Jacobs, *Latijnse poëzie van de twintigste eeuw* (Lier/Belgium, 1961), pp. 88-90; Ijsewijn, *Latijn uit Joegoslavië en Tsjecho-slowakijë*, in: *Hermeneus*, 37 (1965-66), pp. 281-285.

(3) *Palatinska Antologija* (Zagreb 1960).

Nicolaas van der Blom

UNE NOUVELLE VISION SUR L'ANNEE DE NAISSANCE D'ERASME

(à propos de : A.C.F. Koch, *The year of Erasmus' birth* (1))

On le sait : les renseignements que nous procure Erasme lui-même sur son âge sont souvent contradictoires. Huizinga a dit : *Son sens de la chronologie a toujours été faible*. Tout de même, maints *virī Erasmiani* se sont occupés longuement de ce problème et ont essayé d'en trouver la solution. Dernièrement, feu Monseigneur R.-R. Post en 1953 et E.-W. Kohls en 1966, avaient tiré des conclusions différentes. Tandis que Post calculait que 1469 devait passer pour l'année de naissance - sur son étude on basait, avant 1966 déjà, le choix de 1969 comme année de commémoration -, Kohls contestait cette opinion, tout en optant pour 1466 (2). Or, à la fin de 1969, A.C.F. Koch, archiviste de Deventer, aucunement la moindre parmi toutes les villes érasmiennes, fit paraître un petit livre dans lequel il rassemble tout le matériel de façon bien ordonnée. En le résumant clairement, il vérifie de nouveau les anciennes données et en propose de nouvelles. Il conclut en affirmant *that Erasmus was born most probably, if not certainly, in 1467* (3). La route que suit Koch mène par le tombeau de Colet, le labyrinthe des renseignements d'Erasme lui-même, l'ancienne école de Deventer et par le pont sur l'Yssel, construit en 1482/3. Un rallye passionnant auquel on assiste avec d'autant plus de plaisir puisque les choses y sont présentées saupoudrées d'humour.

Jamais on n'a ignoré qu'Erasme, après février 1516, se prétend plus âgé qu'on ne s'y attendrait vu ses renseignements de ce mois. Mestwerdt et en accord avec lui Preserved Smith (4) ont, ainsi que Post, là-dessus fondé leurs hypothèses. Ceux-là croyaient qu'Erasme a essayé d'antidater sa naissance et de la placer avant le moment où son père fut ordonné prêtre. Post rejeta cette opinion. Il supposa que, vieillard, Erasme espérait pouvoir rester hors des points litigieux du jour. A sa défense, Post cite, à mon avis à tort, une phrase datant de 1531 : *Arbitror consultius, ut sexagenarius ab his comitiis abstineam, ne per iuventutem tumultuosam fiam depontanus*. (5) Or, Koch trouva une tout autre raison pour la tricherie (Post) d'Erasme. Ses calculs qui annéantissent maints calculs anciens et plus récents (entre autres celui que Kohls base sur les inscriptions du tombeau de Colet), l'amènent à la conclusion que sous les manipulations d'Erasme se cache une méthode : entre 1516 et 1534, constate-t-il, Erasme ajoute, avec

régularité, une année à son âge d'une telle façon que de chaque demi-douzaine d'années, il fait chaque fois sept ans. L'explication de Koch, à savoir la supposition qu'Erasme avance son âge en vue des soi-disant *anni scalares* ou *climacterici*, se confirmait de façon surprenante dans la lettre de Goclenius à Erasme, publiée en 1934 par Allen (A 8.1994 A) et qui avait échappé à Post et à Kohls.

Depuis Pythagore l'idée existe que la vie est à diviser en étapes de 7 années. La première année critique est la quarante-neuvième (7 x 7) ; la grande année climatérique, la soixante-troisième (9 x 7), est très dangereuse. Erasme, enfant de son temps, les craignait et trouvait un remède contre elles en sautant les *anni scalares* à partir de février 1517. (6) L'année de sa naissance que, guidés par Koch, nous mettons en 1467, jusqu'au mois de février 1516, remontait ainsi à partir du mois de février 1517 chaque fois une année jusqu'à 1466, 1465, 1464 même. Ce qui complique les choses : à côté de l'âge réel et à côté des années réelles (la 49ème : le 28 octobre 1515/16 ; la 56ème : octobre 1522/23 ; la 63ème : octobre 1529/30) il y a un âge et des *anni scalares* imaginaires (par exemple la 63ème année : octobre 1527/28 - alors, la naissance d'Erasme daterait de "1465"). Deux fils d'Ariadné dans un double labyrinthe ! Erasme a très bien connu l'année de sa naissance - supposition qui est naturellement à la base du calcul de Koch -. Et il a réussi à *ajouter par ses inquiétudes une année à sa vie* ; et cela plusieurs fois ! (7) Un nouveau petit trait de caractère de ce grand homme, que nous devons accepter avec reconnaissance et qui jette une nouvelle lumière sur son caractère tellement compliqué. Par son étude, Koch a donné, à mon avis, une contribution à la commémoration d'Erasme qui, dans son importance pour Erasme, surpasse la solution ingénieuse d'un problème saisissant ! On voit de nouveau comment une superstition antique influençait les esprits chrétiens. (8)

Mon article veut contribuer à la continuation de la discussion sur ce problème. A mon avis, il reste encore quelques questions à poser. En plus, je pense pouvoir apporter quelque chose de nouveau. (9)

1. C'est donc entre février 1516 et février 1517 qu'Erasme commence à manipuler sa date de naissance (Koch, p.14,43). Au mois de février 1516, dans la première édition du *Methodus* (10), il se dit dans sa 49ème année, c'est-à-dire entre son 48ème anniversaire et son 49ème. Le 28 octobre 1515, il eut donc 48 ans. Ce qui donne 1467 comme année de naissance. Au mois de février 1517, il se dit cependant dans sa 51ème année. Au mois d'octobre 1516, il eut donc 50 ans, et il fut né en 1466. Or, ce qui m'étonne (Koch ne le signale pas) c'est qu'Erasme ne commence pas ses manipulations immédiatement au *début* de sa 49ème année, mais seulement *just after the moment in which ... he was in his 49th year* (Koch p. 43). Est-ce qu'Erasme, au mois de février 1516, ne connaît pas encore ces soucis ? Est-ce qu'il a, après avoir atteint le but de sa vie : l'édition du Nouveau Testament, le sentiment d'avoir bravé le sort ? Ou, plus

pieusement, celui d'un *Nunc dimittis* ? (19) Ou, est-ce qu'il a eu peur de cette *hybris*, bien qu'il fût avancé déjà quatre mois dans sa 49ème année (on pourrait appeler *just after* un understatement !), justement après cette communication, partout connue, du *Methodus* qui avait été ajouté au Nouveau Testament ? Je crois que nous n'en savons rien.

Il est possible que, pour ces problèmes, importe la différence entre le *breve* de Jules II de janvier 1506 (A S.187 A) et celui de Léon X de janvier 1517 (A 2.517), où Erasme s'appelle respectivement *de soluto genitus et vidua et ex illicito et, ut timet, incesto damnatoque coitu genitus*, i.e. *born of a bachelor and a widow et of an illicit and, as he fears, of an incestuous and damned union* (Smith). La seconde formule semble plus chargée que la première. Etant donné le contexte, Smith, comme Vischer et Allen, comprend *incestus* comme indiquant le concubinat d'un prêtre, et à raison, à mon avis. (11) Au mois d'août 1516, Erasme demande la dispense qu'il semble avoir souhaitée surtout parce que son prier l'avait rappelé à Steyn. Est-ce que, pendant une démarche à Rome, celui-ci a mis au tapis le fait qu'Erasme fut né d'un prêtre ? Est-ce qu'à Rome on a écouté les *Hollandicae linguae*, les langues calomniatrices hollandaises, qui, en 1502, ont fait renoncer Erasme à un poste à Louvain (A 1.171.14), mais dont, en 1506, il n'avait pas encore à craindre qu'elles pénétrassent à Rome ? Et est-ce ainsi qu'en 1516, après son refus de rentrer au couvent (A 1.296), il a été contraint de mentionner dans sa demande les circonstances précises de sa naissance, enveloppées d'un *ut timeo* ? Est-ce qu'alors Ammonius ou un ami dans la curie lui a conseillé d'aller manipuler ses années ? L'hypothèse conçue dans ces questions, rendrait possible la combinaison de l'hypothèse de Mestwerdt et de Smith avec le calcul de Koch. Lorsqu'Erasme commençait à faire cela - si c'est vrai - avant ou en août 1516 ou à partir de janvier 1517, il aurait pu voir que, s'il allait protéger, pas à pas, la réputation de son père, lui-même pourrait être protégé en même temps - et secondairement - contre les risques des *anni scalares*, à partir (si ceci date d'avant le 28 octobre 1516) de la 49ème année, pour ce qui en restait ; ou dans la 50ème.

2. Ensuite, je voudrais attirer l'attention sur le *Genethliacon Erasmi* de Velius, que Koch n'a pas cité et que ses prédécesseurs n'ont pas mis en considération, pour autant que je sache. (12) Erasme, à Anvers, reçoit ce panégyrique au mois de février 1517 par l'intermédiaire de Bartholinus qui séjourne dans la même ville. Dans ce poème, les Muses lui prédisent sa carrière, lors de sa naissance. Elles disent entre autres au nouveau-né :

*Post quinquennia iam decem peracta
Nocturnas vigilabis ad lucernas.
Hebraeae salebroso verba linguae*

Edisces. (13)

Allen ne citait que le premier vers et enlevait ainsi la vue sur la source de Velius, le *Methodus* : *Iam 49um agens annum ad Hebraicas litteras ... recurro.* (14) Velius supposait donc, dit Allen, qu'Erasme avait fêté son 50ème anniversaire en octobre 1516. A mon avis, Velius aurait, à partir du *Methodus*, dû arriver au 49ème anniversaire.

Est-ce que Velius, en lisant le *Methodus*, a fait une erreur de calcul ? Ou est-ce que le 50ème anniversaire convenait plus à la métrique ? Alors, Erasme se serait rangé de cet avis et serait arrivé ainsi à son système. Sans aucune indépendance ? Et si tardivement ?

Ou est-ce que Velius aurait appris par l'intermédiaire de son ami Bartholinus qui était au service du cardinal Matth. Lang, avec qui il était alors à Anvers, le saut de 48 vers 50 qu'Erasme voulut avoir fait en octobre 1516 ; après quoi Velius a composé le poème *ca febr. 1517* (Allen) ? Cela me semble probable. C'est que la réaction d'Erasme fut enthousiaste : *Mirum quam me ceperint Velii hendecasyllabi !* (15) ; à son avis on l'a trop loué ; d'être trop daté il ne dit mot ! Bartholinus demande si Erasme veut apporter des corrections. Lui-même s'en est abstenu ; bien que, *Quaedam in prima statim fronte animadverti.* (16) En lisant ce *quaedam*, je penserais au saut chronologique - et à un sourire de Bartholinus et d'Erasme. Le but de Velius est l'édition du poème : lorsque Velius nie cela (A 3.851.15) et dit que Bartholinus s'est rendu coupable d'une indiscretion en passant le poème à Erasme afin d'en faire publier une *praematura editio*, c'est une recette connue. Erasme répond à Bartholinus qu'il lui est évidemment impossible de donner suite à sa demande de *carminis aeditioni favere .. immodice de (se) mentientis.* (17) Ce *mentiri* vise naturellement les louanges excessifs ; mais pour les initiés cela vise, à mes yeux, la manipulation d'une année. Après ce qui précède, l'insertion du poème de Velius accompagné de la lettre de Bartholinus dans une nouvelle édition : *Aliquot Epistole sane quam elegantes Erasmi*, parue le 17 avril 1517 chez Martens à Louvain, n'a rien pour nous étonner. A mon avis, c'était une affaire arrangée. (18) Il me semble probable que Velius a composé son poème dans cette intention-là et qu'il a reçu, par l'intermédiaire de Bartholinus, des indications chronologiques d'Erasme lui-même ; et qu'on a inséré le poème dans cette édition afin de divulguer le nouvel âge d'Erasme.

3. Dans la même édition, on trouve aussi les lettres d'Erasme à Budé et à Capito, dans lesquelles il mentionne lui-même son âge. Celle à Budé n'est pas sans intérêt pour notre sujet ! C'est qu'Erasme répond à la lettre de Budé du 26 novembre 1516, où celui-ci impute à sa propre 'jeunesse' la différence de style entre eux, qu'Erasme attribuait à leurs nationalités différentes : *Νῦν δὲ τὸ ἐγκυτάσκειν τοῦ λόγου πρὸς ἡλικίας εἶναι τῇς νεανικῆς ἡγοῦμαι etiam si anno 48° proximus esse coepi.* Là, Budé se prétendit plus jeune qu'il ne l'était - en réalité *he was nearing the completion of his 49th year* (Allen). Est-ce qu'Erasme l'a su ? En tout cas, il répond d'une façon assez mystérieuse : *Si*

libeat utriusque nostrum aetatem expendere, haud ita multum interest, nisi aut te (!) aut me (!) fallit supputatio ; siquidem ego iam annum ago 51um, tu, ut scribis (!), non procul abes a 48°. Est-ce que Budé a inquiété Erasme par son avertissement : *Quid si. aliquid tibi acciderit ? - id quod divi illi avertant ?* C'est, en tous cas, un spectacle curieux : tandis que Budé, comme nous le supposons dans ce contexte, recule devant sa 49ème année, Erasme la fuit dans l'autre direction, en avant. Si l'on croit qu'un conseil, de la part de Rome, de manipuler son âge parce qu'au moment de sa naissance son père était prêtre, est trop hypothétique, on voudra, je l'espère, voir avec moi, dans cette lettre du 26 novembre 1516 de Budé et dans ses manipulations avec son propre âge, l'initiative qui a amené Erasme à manipuler le sien propre. Alors, l'ordre à Velius doit avoir été donné après le 26 novembre 1516 ; celui-ci a composé son poème *ca febr.* 1517. (19)

Ainsi avait commencé le jeu ; aussi fallait-il le continuer. Il reste étonnant qu'Erasme ait donc pratiqué une manipulation dans une édition de lettres qui doit avoir été lue autant que le *Methodus* qui datait d'une année auparavant, apparemment sans craindre que quelqu'un remarque la contradiction. On se demande - cf. ce que Koch, p. 40, dit sur Melanchthon qui, sur des bases astrologiques, manipule l'année et la date de naissance de Luther - si une telle manipulation n'était peut-être, à cette époque-là, un procédé généralement accepté et peu spectaculaire ; nous nous étonnerions donc un peu à tort. N'est-il pas vrai qu'il y a dans tout cela, à part la crainte, l'élément du jeu ? ? (20)

4. Puis, on se demande si Erasme s'en est tenu rigoureusement à son système. Je crois voir le contraire dans la lettre à Ambrosius Leo à Venise, qu'Erasme date du 15 octobre 1519 et Allen du 15 octobre 1518 (A 3.868). Là, on lit : *Nunc annum 52um aut ad summum 53um ago.* Koch (n.49) croit qu'Erasme écrit d'abord 52um, mais que, après, il se rappela que la lettre devait arriver après son prochain anniversaire. Si je ne me trompe, Koch comprend donc *aut ad summum* par *ou plutôt*. Le calcul est alors $1517-51=1466$, ou plutôt $1518-52=1466$ (Koch, p. 17). N'est-ce pas *au maximum* ? Il me semble qu'Erasme commet une faute contre son système. Il tient immédiatement compte du 28 octobre prochain (*nunc* ne le contredit pas, à ce que j'espère) et il compte : $1518-51=1467$. Il a alors vite fait de remplacer le nombre réel, en prétendant être un peu incertain à propos de son âge, quasi nonchalamment par l'imaginaire 53ème : $1518-52=1466$. Si je ne me trompe, la lettre n'indiquerait pas exclusivement 1466, comme le calcule Koch (p. 17), mais nous y prendrions Erasme en flagrant délit de manipulation. Peut-être, Erasme calculait selon une méthode un peu différente : $1518 + 1 = 1519-52$ *aut ad summum*-53 ; d'où, je pense, sa datation 1519.

5. Au mois d'avril 1524, Erasme envoie le *Compendium Vitae* (CV) à Goclenius. (21) On y lit qu'Erasme *supputat annos circiter 57*. En voilà une expression piquante. Est-ce que cela veut dire : il compte, ou bien : il calcule environ 57 années ? Alors, il est réellement dans sa 57ème, imaginaiement dans

sa 59ème : *circiter* est donc correcte. A Goclenius aussi, il confiait ses soucis à propos de sa 63ème année (imaginaire). Est-ce qu'il demanda, avec cette information qui, hélas, s'est perdue (nous ne connaissons que la réponse de Goclenius, A 8.1994 A), de corriger le nombre *circiter* 57 ? Si Erasme mourait et que Goclenius emploie le *CV* pour une *vita Erasmi* (c'en est l'intention) (22), le *CV* serait de nouveau à la page.

6. En ce qui concerne Deventer (23), terrain connu pour Koch, les points principaux qu'il traite sont la date de l'entrée en fonction du proviseur Hegius et celle de la construction du pont sur l'Yssel. En ce qui concerne le premier problème, Allen fit déjà remarquer : *The date .. has been the subject of much controversy and is usually set much farther back.* (24) Lui-même date l'entrée de Hegius tard, de 1483, à cause d'une lettre d'Agricola (25), dans laquelle celui-ci félicite Hegius parce qu'il *aperire ludum literarium ... auspicatus es(t)* dans une ville affligée par la peste et où donc l'*auditorium (est) infrequens et pene desertum*. Cette lettre date de 1483 (Koch, p. 30) et se rapporte à la plus grande épidémie qui a frappé la ville dans cette période.

Dans ses archives, Koch a constaté que la magistrature avait quitté la ville, ainsi que ses habitants : cette évacuation durait de la mi-juillet jusqu'à la mi-octobre 1483. Alors, l'école doit avoir été fermée, comme le suppose Koch. Kohls avait daté cette lettre d'Agricola beaucoup plus tôt. Koch refuse cette datation. En même temps, Kohls supposait que le texte de la lettre peut aussi bien désigner une *réouverture* de l'école par Hegius, (qui, à son avis, était entré en scène déjà plus tôt). En cela, Koch se range de son avis, à cause de la fermeture probable de l'école en 1483. Koch a trouvé aussi le nom de Me Pierre van Spaerwoude, *die schoelmeister* (le maître d'école, titre qu'il met au même niveau que proviseur), à son avis le prédécesseur de Hegius. Or, la mort de Me Pierre entre septembre 1481 et février 1482 donne le terminus a quo pour l'arrivée de Hegius à Deventer.

J'avoue que je comprends qu'Allen lit dans la lettre que Hegius entre en fonction, et j'ai de la peine à comprendre que l'école est *réouverte*. J'y lis que Hegius y trouva un *auditorium ... infrequens et pene desertum, nedum non celebre et expectatione (sua) .. dignum*. Comment le nombre des élèves pourrait-il décevoir son attente après qu'il avait dû fermer l'école à cause de la peste ? Au contraire, il peut être question d'attente effectivement si Hegius était arrivé en mai 1483 (ma note 23 c). Je signale encore le début de la lettre : *Quod aperire ludum literarium Daventriae auspicatus es, ut felix .. tibi eveniat opto*. Si Hegius était déjà proviseur à Deventer, ce *Daventriae* est au moins curieux ; mais cela va très bien pour une entrée en fonction dans l'école d'une ville où l'on se présente pour la première fois. C'est à cause de cela que je me demande si Hegius, nommé vers mai 1483, n'a pas trouvé l'école fermée- les élèves devaient avoir quitté la ville avant le départ des magistrats. Alors il serait entré effectivement en fonction et aurait ouvert l'école seulement en automne 1483. (26)

Ceci est en contradiction avec ce que nous savons à propos du pont de Deventer, qu'on avait ouvert pour la circulation à la mi-mars 1483. C'est qu'Erasme, dans une lettre d'avril 1519, dit : *Daventriam reliqui XIV annos natus*, et qu'alors *nondum fluvius .. ponte iunctus erat*. Koch calcule par cela qu'Erasme est de (1468, mais plus probablement de) 1467 (p. 37 ss.). Or, cette lettre date de 1519, lorsqu'Erasme voulut être de 1466 ! En effet, on lit dans cette même lettre : *nunc ago annum 53um* - ce qui amène Koch (p. 17) à 1466. Voilà le seul point où, à mon avis, Koch se contredit. Je cherche la cause dans la lettre. Est-ce qu'Erasme oublia de nouveau qu'il fallait manipuler et écrire *XV annos natus* ? Qu'on compare ce que dit un des interlocuteurs dans le *De recta pronuntiatione*, c'est-à-dire qu'il fut élevé à Deventer chez les Frères de la Vie Commune *nondum egressus annum XVum* (Koch, p. 27). Fut-ce Erasme lui-même ? Le ton de cette lettre de 1519, dans laquelle il répond à un correspondant qui croit l'avoir connu à l'école de Deventer juste après la construction du pont, reste assez grincheux - il est clair qu'Erasme le tient à bout de bras. Est-il sincère en ce qu'il dit à propos du pont ? Ou est-ce qu'il déconcerte l'homme ? Le problème est - et restera ; cf. Kohls, *a.c.* p. 111 - de savoir quelle est la valeur de ces données. Allen prouve qu'Erasme, dans cette lettre pleine de données chronologiques, fait indubitablement preuve d'un *sens faible de la chronologie* en ce qui concerne son premier séjour en Angleterre, sa datation étant *incorrect by a year* !

7. Au mois d'avril 1484, Agricola, en route pour Heidelberg (ma note 23 d), rencontra chez Hegius le *magister Gerardus Goudanus*. Le père d'Erasme ? Allen le croyait possible, *but the name occurs too frequently at Gouda to allow of any certain inference*. Est-ce qu'il y avait à Gouda tant de Gérard qui étaient magister ? Et est-ce qu'ils étaient tous intéressés en Virgile ? C'est qu'Agricola décrit ce Gérard comme *negotiating with him about a commentary on Vergil*. (28) Le *CV* dit que le père d'Erasme s'appelait Gérard et qu'il copiait des manuscrits. Il me semble, pourtant, bien possible de l'identifier avec Gerardus Goudanus.

Le renseignement du *CV*, qu'Erasme quitta Deventer *tota domo in qua agebat desolata*, fait penser à 1483. Était-ce une pension ou (cf. *De recta pronuntiatione*, supra) la *domus pauperum* ou bien *divitum* des Frères ? Le *CV* dit en plus que le père d'Erasme aurait survécu à sa mère qui était morte à Deventer avant son départ. Il est donc possible que son père fût encore en vie en 1484.

*

L'étude scrupuleuse de Koch a éclairci beaucoup. Puisque les données de Deventer surtout me présentent encore des difficultés, j'espère qu'il voudra bien poursuivre ses recherches. Allen louait *the care with which the town of Deventer*

has cherished its archives. Si le matériel disponible présente la chance, ce ne sera pas la faute de Koch - son étude le prouve - si on ne trouvera pas, un jour ou l'autre, la solution.

Rotterdam, le 17 avril 1971

Adriaen van der Doeslaan 34 B

L'auteur tient à remercier son fils, Henk M. van der Blom, étudiant ès lettres romanes, d'avoir bien voulu traduire cette contribution.

1. A.C.F. Koch, *The year of Erasmus' birth and other contributions to the chronology of his life*, Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, Utrecht, 1969, 44 p., 130 notes, 750 copies printed.
2. R.R. Post, *Geboorteejaar en Opleiding van Erasmus*, in : *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, afd. Letterkunde, nouvelle série, tome 16 (1953), pp. 327-348 (Geboorteejaar). Traduit in : *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XXVI, 1964, pp. 489-509. E.-W. Kohls, *Das Geburtsjahr des Erasmus*, in : *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 22 (1966), pp. 96-122 ; la réplique de Post *ibid.*, pp. 319-333 ; la duplique de Kohls *ibid.*, pp. 347-359.
3. En 1964, on a changé l'année traditionnelle 1467, sur le piédestal renouvelé de la célèbre statue d'Erasmus à Rotterdam, en 1469 ; cf. mon *Erasmus en Rotterdam*, (nr. 26 de la petite série de la Société Historique 'Roterodamum'), 's-Gravenhage-Rotterdam, 1969, p. 70
4. La différence entre les deux consiste dans le fait que Mestwerdt ne parle que de 1466 et de 1469, tandis que Smith dit d'Erasmus : *The older he became, the earlier he put the year of his birth*. Post, *Geboorteejaar*, p. 329, rend l'interprétation de Smith incorrectement. Ce que veut dire Smith n'est pas qu'Erasmus était un bâtard, mais qu'il était un bâtard d'un prêtre - Mestwerdt est de son avis.
5. P.S. Allen c.s., *Opus Epistolarum Erasmi*, Oxonii 1906-1947 (A) 9. 2453.16 ss., du 1er mars 1531. Une allusion de 'Erasmus Adagiarus' à l'antique *sexagenarios de ponte*. Cf. ma note 20. Etant donné le contexte, on ne vise que l'élection du meilleur styliste latin, *Ciceronianus nr.1*, Erasmus ou l'un des jeunes : Sadoletto, Bembo, Pflug. Les grandes questions de l'époque n'y sont pas à l'ordre du jour. Le texte apparenté, A 10.2892.150, ne parle que d'attaques sur le plan personnel. Mieux aurait valu citer les lettres de 1524/26, où Erasmus se nomme *gladiator sexagenarius* (ma note 20).
6. Qu'on ajoute aux exemples de Koch le proviseur de l'Hieronymus-school à Utrecht, Macropedius, qui était soucieux de sa 63ème année : R.C. Engelberts, *Georgius Macropedius, Bassarus*, éd. avec introduction et traduction, Tilburg 1965, p. 10.
7. Dans son annotation au texte varié ici, Matthieu 6,27, Erasmus fait remarquer que ἡλικία signifie *statura*, longueur, mais aussi âge. Cf. Liddell-Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* s.v. : *to add a cubit to one's age*.
8. Ici, il ne s'agit pas d'astrologie ; ainsi, à tort, peut-être à cause de Koch p. 40 où, cependant, l'astrologie est tenue hors de la démonstration, M.A. Nauwelaerts, in : *Spiegel Historiael* 15 (1970), p. 508. A mon avis (cf. Koch, n. 123, où il vise A 3.948.18 ss.), Erasmus, dans A 9.911, emploie l'astrologie pour se moquer des théologiens de Louvain ; cf. A 2.447.312 sur Cantelius.

Dans le domaine littéraire 49 semble être 'tabou' aussi : cf. *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 64 (1971), p. 249 sqq.

9. Je place ici quelques détails. A) Les dates de Rotterdam et de Gouda ne sont pas exclusivement 1467 et 1469 (Koch p.4), cf. mon *Erasmus en Rotterdam*, 1969, fig. 2 : l'esquisse de la troisième statue d'Erasmus à Rotterdam (1465 ; cependant, n.52 laisse possible que l'inscription indiquait 1467, mais que cela fut changé par l'auteur du diarium dans lequel figure cette esquisse, à cause de sa propre interprétation) et fig. 1 : le buste qui serait originaire de Steyn, et qui se trouve maintenant au Musée St. Catharinagasthuis à Gouda (1467), aussi dans le catalogue du Musée Boymans-van Beuningen à Rotterdam, *Erasmus en zijn tijd*, 1969, II, ill. 163. B) Le *Methodus* date en effet de février 1516 (Koch, p. 15). C'est que, dans la seconde édition, on lit - je corrige le texte que présente Koch - : *Cum primum Novum Testamentum essem editurus, Methodum..curaveram adjiciendam*, i.e. lorsque j'allais publier le Novum Testamentum pour la première fois, j'y ai fait (à mon avis, le plusquamperfectum du style épistolaire) ajouter un *Methodus*. Et : *Operis celeritas iam ad metam decurrentis brevitatem flagitabat*. Cela à propos du très peu de temps qui restait avant le 1er mars 1516. Il est impossible de penser à une période qui commence avant octobre 1515 (contre Richter-Kohls). C) *Deludere superstitionem* (Koch p. 41) signifie : se moquer de la superstition. Cette manière de s'exprimer envers Goclenius, de façon qu'apparemment il semblait qu'Erasmus se moquât de ce qu'il croyait ou craignait - ou de soi-même - est typiquement érasmienne.
10. Cf. G.B. Winkler, *Erasmus von Rotterdam, Ausgewählte Schriften*, III, Darmstadt, 1967.
11. A) *Ut timet*, sc. Erasmus ; et non pas : Leo (A. Hyma, *The youth of Erasmus*, Ann Arbor, 1930, p. 53. B) *Castus et incestus* viennent du domaine sacré ; cf. Virgile, *Enéide* VI, 661, où il apparaît que les prêtres en particulier doivent être *casti* ; dans le *Reynardus Vulpes*, éd. R.B.C. Huygens, Zwolle, 1968, v. 555 : *mores presbiterorum qui sunt incesti*, on ne vise, étant donné le contexte, que les prêtres de mauvaise vie - dans le sens général du mot, sans indication d'un trop étroit degré de parenté (contre Hans Redeker, *De moed van een bang revolutionnair*, Wormerveer 1968, p. 15 : *bloedschennig*). C) J'entends *vidua* comme identique à *soluta*, cf. DuCange s.v. Ou faut-il penser à Papinius, *Digesta* 48.5.6 : *stuprum est concubitus cum virgine vel vidua* ? Et à Isidorus I, *Differ.* 502 : *stuprum in virgine ; incestum in parente aut vidua* ? Dans ce cas-là, la différence entre les formules ne serait pas grande. On aimerait recevoir des informations plus précises de la part d'un spécialiste du droit canonique de cette époque-là.
12. A 2.548. Allen n'en tire pas argument pour le 1466 qu'il défend, peut-être parce qu'il ne croyait pas que c'était Erasmus qui inspirait Velius.
13. A 2.548 n.3. *H* rectifie l'interponction de *C*¹.
14. G.B. Winkler, *o.c.*, p. 46, où Erasmus dit d'Agricola qu'il *annum egressus 40um Hebraeas literas discere nec erubuit..nec desperavit tam grandis natu*. On était vieux lorsqu'on avait 40 ans. Cf. Creighton Gilbert, *When did a man in the Renaissance grow old ?* in : *Studies in the Renaissance*, XIV, 1967, p. 7-32 ; Gilbert y constate, à côté d'un *lack of concern about precision on age*, un *specific trend for old men to appear even older* (p. 21).
15. A. 2.549
16. A 2.548.8
17. A 2.549.32
18. A Anvers, Bartholinus, à ce qu'il disait, fut empêché *crastina profectione* de rendre visite à Erasmus (A 2.549.2) et lui envoya le poème 'par la poste', en y ajoutant une petite lettre. Tout cela, à mes yeux, en vue de l'édition dans laquelle Bartholinus aussi voulait être présent. Le cardinal Lang ne partit qu'à la fin du mois de mai 1517 (A 2.584.22).

19. A 2.480.134, Erasme à Budé : *Gallum ista decet μεγαλὸ φρόσυν η non Hollandum.*
 A 2.493.368, Budé à Erasme : *Nũν δὲ etc.* avec la note et A 3.xxvi.
 A 2.493.387 : l'avertissement de Budé. C'est probablement en relation avec cet avertissement qu'Erasme écrit à Capito, A 2.541.96 : *Hanc lampadem a nobis traditam accipe* - en effet, dans un état d'âme de *Nunc dimittis* (voir texte p.71). Sur leurs âges, Erasme à Budé : A 2.531.373. Mme M.M. de la Garanderie, *La correspondance d'Erasme et de Guillaume Budé* calcule que Budé s'est rajeuni de deux ans. Elle ne donne pas d'explication.
20. Il est amusant que la lettre de 1531, dans laquelle Erasme se dit *sexagenarius*, A 9.2455., p. 190, est justement adressée à Velius. Alors, celui-ci s'est naturellement bien rappelé les manipulations du maître en 1516/17. Il aura pris ce *sexagenarius* avec ce grain de sel qui à tant d'autres a manqué plus tard. En 1514/26 aussi, Erasme s'appelle ainsi (Kohls, a.c. p. 119) : comme en 1531 l'image du *deponatus*, c'est en 1524/26 celui du *gladiator* qui décide de l'âge ! Le danger existe que, dans des questions purement techniques comme la nôtre, on ne voit plus le contexte des renseignements à propos de l'âge et qu'ils vont mener leur propre vie. Un autre exemple : Kohls qui, ailleurs, procure d'amples citations, omet, a.c. p. 116, de A 2.531.374 (voir notre texte, p. 73) '*haud...supputatio*', tout en méconnaissant le ton ironique de ce renseignement chronologique - et Koch le suit. (De A 9.2455., p. 190, Post rend correctement le numéro, Koch, dans la note 71, la page).
21. On sait qu'on considère le *CV* comme un *falsum* dans lequel il y a un mélange de mensonge et vérité.
22. A 1 p. 52.159 ss. Qu'on lise chez Koch, p. 17 *de anno scalari*. *Angi de anno scalari* en soi peut concerner l'année actuelle (ainsi Koch l.c.), mais éventuellement aussi l'année prochaine (ainsi Allen dans la note de A 8.1994 A) Si Allen y dit : *If Erasmus was born in 1466, he would be entering his grand climacteric* (i.e. : la 63ème année) *in Oct. 1528*, on peut y entendre quelques doutes à propos de 1466. D'abord, Allen (intr.) datait la lettre de mai 1529, ce qui est dans la 63ème année réelle, lorsqu'on calcule à partir de 1466 ; peut-être parce qu'il pensait d'abord à l'année courante.
23. Quelques remarques : A) Qu'Erasme a vu lui-même à Deventer tout ce qu'il raconte sur l'année 1478 (Koch, p. 26), est, à mon avis, prouvé par le participe dans *Olim..audiebam mulierculas sibi applaudentes*, LB V 153 F. B) Est-ce que le proviseur à Deventer avait une demeure officielle ? Le Me Pierre van Spaerwoude était propriétaire de sa maison. C) Est-ce que, au fond, on a prouvé que Hegius succéda immédiatement à Me Pierre ? (Koch, p. 37). Le plus souvent, un proviseur était engagé vers le mois de mai (cf., par exemple J.A. Kesper, *Geschiedenis van het Gymnasium te Gouda*, Gouda 1898, I, p. 60) - alors, automne 1481 (Koch, p. 37) devrait devenir mai 1482 ; et on pourrait supposer qu'un professeur - ou le connu Egbert ter Beek ! - a été remplaçant entretemps. D) Est-ce que la lettre de Hegius à Agricola, du 17 décembre, date vraiment de 1483 ? Cette lettre a été envoyée à Heidelberg. Mais en route de Groningue à Heidelberg, Agricola serait passé sans doute par Deventer, comme il le fait en effet en avril 1484. La datation après avril 1484, donc décembre 1484, semble plus logique. En outre, c'est à tort que Koch considère la lettre de Hegius comme la réponse à celle d'Agricola dans ses *Lucubrationes aliquot*, Coloniae 1539, 181-183 (Koch, notes 94 et 103) : Agricola demande : *De pestilentia quam primum potes facito me certiorum..Cupio enim..iter suscipere et te Daventriae, si tutum putabis, convenire*. La réponse, rassurante sans doute, puisque les deux se sont rencontrés en avril à Deventer, s'est perdue. La lettre de Hegius dont parle Koch répond à des questions, dit Hegius, *de re (sua) scholastica, ut procederet quantoque (sibi) usui esset*. (A. Hegius, *Dialogi*, Daventriae 1503, fol. 04 verso /05 recto. Et : si la lettre datait de 1483, Koch et Kohls devraient renoncer à l'hypothèse que l'école fut fermée : Hegius parle de pertes, en effet, mais de fermeture il ne dit mot ! *Habeo nunc ludum plenum. Aestate paulo incelebrior erat. Pestilentia enim supra XX discipulos assumpsit, multos hinc abegit, nonnullos..quominus huc venirent abstinuit*. A mes yeux, cela vise la peste de l'été de 1484.
24. A 1 p. 580.
25. A 1 p. 580, n. 22 et 23.

26. *Aperire ludum literarium* me semble. être d'ailleurs terminus technicus pour *instituere lud.lit.* Ainsi par exemple dans le titre du *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis* de Joh. Sturm. C'est pourquoi je me demande si Agricola n'indique pas par *aperire...auspicatus es* qu'il est convaincu que la venue de Hegius inaugure (le solennel *auspicatus es !*) une nouvelle phase dans l'histoire de l'école de Deventer. Cf. le CV, A 1, p. 48.34 ss. : *Ea schola tunc adhuc erat barbara, nisi quod Hegius, coeperat aliquid melioris invehere literaturae.* *Ludum aperire* désigne simplement l'entrée en fonction A 8.2194.15 et A 3.941.13.
27. A 3.940.17, avril 1519. Ceci peut signifier : On n'avait pas encore terminé la construction du pont (que j'ai vu en construction). Ainsi apparemment Koch, p. 37. Ou : il n'y avait pas encore de pont. Dans le dernier cas, Erasme pourrait, à l'autorité de ces mots seuls, être parti même avant que le premier pieu fût planté, le 1er août 1482.
28. A 1, p. 581, n. 30.

James D. Tracy

THE 1489 AND 1494 VERSIONS OF ERASMUS' ANTIBARBARORUM LIBER

When Erasmus "escaped"¹ the monastery of Steyn (1492/3) he was thrust into a larger world than he perhaps had bargained for. The cloister walls which confined him had also shielded him from worldly cares and permitted his imagination to dwell in faraway fields where poets chatted familiarly with their Muses. A passage from *De Contemptu Mundi*, describing in typically medieval imagery the spiritual reading available to monks, suggests the contemplative tenor of his aspirations: "How the fields flourish in bright grass! how they shine, for the grass is painted with a pleasing variety of flowers; here there are roses handsomely reddening, here the snowy lilies so calm in whiteness, here the smiling purple violet, here the tawny sweet-smelling thyme"². Life with his newly found patron, the Bishop of Cambrai, was not so restful. Erasmus presumably accompanied Henry of Bergen on his constant journeying between residences in Bergen and Mechlin and the Court in Brussels. As Huizinga says, contact with Court politics probably unsettled him, for "the hard realities of life frightened and distressed him"³. Casting a wistful eye on his former condition, he soon wrote to his cloister friend William Hermans that "practically all opportunity for study is taken from me"⁴. Nonetheless it was during this period of newly found liberty that he specifically repudiated the ideal (as much classical as monastic)⁵ of withdrawal from the world and laid the foundation for his later

-
1. P.S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum D. Erasmi* (12 vols; Oxford: Clarendon, 1906-1958): Hermans to Erasmus, *Letter 33*, I, pp. 129-30: "Quid effugeris incommodi nemo melius me nouit, qui in ipsis etiam nunc iactor procellis." For Erasmus' appointment as Latin Secretary to the Bishop of Cambrai see pp. 587-90.
 2. *De Contemptu Mundi* (Antwerp: Hillen, 1523), sig. D⁵: "Quam laeto gramine campi virent, quam blanda florum varietate picta nitent gramina, hinc rosis formose rubentibus, hinc niveis liliis placide candentibus, hinc purpureis violis ardentibus, hinc fulvis thymis suave spirantibus."
 3. Johan Huizinga, *Erasmus*, tr. F. Hopman (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957), p. 17.
 4. To Hermans, *Letter 39*, I, pp. 111-4, I, p. 141: "Sin vero amicum laedere est animus, iniquum quidem, Gulielme, certamen. Iam enim in mediis Tullianae artis versaris studiis; mihi omnis prorsum studiorum facultas sublata est."
 5. The following is a fair sample of the argument of *De Contemptu Mundi*: "Hinc mihi eam fiduciam sumsi, ut modestiae paulisper oblitus, hanc hortatoriam ad te Epistolam scriberem, qua te plana a mundi strepitu commercioque abducere, atque ad Monasticam, id est, solitariam tranquillamque vitam transferre cupio. Res ardua, & quae non passim vulgo persuadeatur, sed quoniam ea vitae tuae integritas est, ut jam nunc praeter habitum (in quo mihi quidem gratulor) prope nihil in te mundus habet, exhortationem meam non inanem futuram confido, quandoquidem eodem te & optimi animi impetus, & nostra vocat oratio. Quis enim dubitat ei rati cursum esse facillimum, quae & ventis fertur & amne secundis?" *D. Erasmi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq (10 vols.; Leiden, 1703-1706), V, 1240F-1241A. The monastery is a place of refuge from the *vulgus* more than a place of repentance.

attack on the monastic "Religion of Ceremonies". The importance of these years for Erasmus' intellectual development emerges from a comparison between the *Antibarbari* of 1494/5 and the original *oratio* of 1489.

*

In 1930 Albert Hyma published a manuscript of *Antibarbarorum Liber* completed by a Brother of the Common Life in Gouda in 1519⁶. The book has a complicated history. Letter 37 (which Rudolf Pfeiffer and Vittorio de Caprariis have shown should be dated c. 1489 and not c. 1494) announced to Cornelius Gerard a work which would "refute the inept reasonings of the barbarians" (i.e. those who held the study of pagan poetry suspect)⁷. Erasmus and Cornelius had previously composed in verse a joint "Apologia...adversus Barbaros"⁸. A study of Quintilian and perhaps Cicero seems to have led Erasmus to formulate his

6. Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus* (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1930), pp. 239-331, prints in parallel columns the Gouda Mss. and the *Antibarbari* of the 1540 *Opera Erasmi*.

7. Rudolf Pfeiffer, *Die Wandlungen der Antibarbari*, in : *Gedenkschrift zum 400en Todestage des Erasmus* (Basel : Braus-Riggenbach ; 1936), p. 60 ; Vittorio de Caprariis, *Per la datazione di due lettere di Erasmo*, in : *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXIV (1952), pp. 223-8. Letter 37, l. 9-14, I, p. 136 : "Si quid agitem rogas, est mihi in manibus de litteris opus, quod diutissime minatus sum, idque inter rusticationem curo, quantum procedat parum scio. Id quidem operis duobus libellis absolvere in animo est. Prior in refellendis ineptis barbarorum rationibus totus fere versabitur ; in secundo te tuique similes doctores amicos de laude litterarum loqui faciam". Allen dated this letter in 1494. But De Caprariis points out that it makes much better sense to date it before, rather than ca. five years after, the following from Letter 30 (c. 1489), l. 13-21, p. 121 : "Verumtamen, quoniam nulla nobis res aeque proposita est in vita quam tibi [sc. Cornelio] omnibus in rebus gratificari, obsequi, morem gerere (vt certe pro cumulatis tuis in me beneficiis debeo maxime), hanc rursus operam tui causa suscepimus, orationemque tuam quam petieras quo potuimus studio absoluimus. Partes praeterea oratorias, itidem quam quaeque speciem, quem quaeque colorem habeat, studiose annotare curauimus ; vt tu quidem potiare voto tuo, gratularenturque studio nostro litterati, videant autem et inuideant illiterati, erubescant scoli et iactabundi". De Caprariis' additional argument - that Letter 30 should be dated from Erasmus' period of service with the Bishop - is not warranted by l. 1-6 : "Duae res esse quae languorem ingenii nostris maxime afferre soleant, scripsit Cicero - otium et solitudinem. Harum neutra nobis deest. Solitudinem quidem vitae nostrae ratio poscit ; otium vero inde vel maxime nascitur, quod videamus literas, quae olim suis summam peperere et vtilitatem et gloriam, nunc hominibus damno et dedecori esse". Leisure is adversely affected not by other duties as in Letter 39 (above, note 4) but by the suspicions of Erasmus' fellow monks.

8. C. Reedijk, *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus* (Leiden : Brill ; 1956), pp. 162-9.

argument in an oration. Given the political context of rhetoric in ancient Rome, and to a lesser extent at the Court of Burgundy,⁹ the change of genre in itself indicates Erasmus had already adopted a more active, aggressive stance toward the enemies of the Muses¹⁰. Letter 30 (which as De Caprariis says must be dated after Letter 37) informed Cornelius that Erasmus had now finished “tua oratio”; the result would delight the learned but provoke the barbarians to fury¹¹. Erasmus’ preface to the first edition (1520) says that “just a few years” later he re-cast the oration in the form of a dialogue¹². James Batt appears in the Gouda Mss. and in the later (and revised) printed version as the main speaker. The comments of Robert Gaguin, to whom Erasmus submitted the manuscript in Paris in 1495, make it clear Batt was then the main speaker. Hence Hyma takes the Gouda Mss. to be a copy of the work at this stage of its career¹³.

Pfeiffer lays the groundwork for further analysis by showing that Batt’s long formal *oratio* is probably a re-working of the *oratio* as written c. 1489 or later for Cornelius¹⁴. The prologue, in which Batt, “Herasmus”, William Hermans,

9. De Caprariis, *Il Panegyricus di Erasmo a Filippo di Borgogna*, in: *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXV (1953), pp. 199-222, discusses political aspects of the oration Erasmus delivered at Court in 1504.

10. The verse “*Apologia... adversus Barbaros*” is tinged with melancholy resignation:

Dixi Musa vale non sine lachrymis
Et tu, Phoebe pater, perpetuum vale,
Olim nostra quies, noster eras amor,
Te nunc desero non volens.
Cogit liuor edax diua poemata
Quod norunt minime collacerantium,
Cogit, sed pudor est, Archadiae cohors
Iam stellis numerosior. (Reedijk, pp. 162-3).

Batt’s oration in *Antibarbari* moves straight to the attack:

“Oratio fecialium.

Quo tandem jure, o vos Gothi, e vestris egressi limitibus, non modo Latinorum provincias occupatis (disciplinas loquor liberales) verum etiam ipsam urbem rerum dominam, Latinitatem audetis incessere?” (Hyma, p. 273). Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis*, I. xi on the Roman practice of having war declared by a college of priests (*fetiales*) and Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiae*, in *Vallae Opera* (Basel: Petri, 1540), pp. 4-5, for the basic metaphor, except that Valla speaks of Gauls instead of Goths.

11. Above, note 7.

12. *Letter 1110*, I. 21, IV, p. 279.

13. Gaguin to Erasmus, *Letter 46*, I. 32-4, I, p. 153: “Protendis longiuscule prohemium, et Battum primas partes agentem, quod absque interlocutore longiusculus sit, quippiam forte reprehendet”.

14. Pfeiffer, pp. 65-7, cites passages from Letter 31 which echo Batt’s *oratio*, mentioning also the similarities noticed by Allen between the *oratio* and Letters 22 and 29.

the Burgomaster of Bergen William Conrad, and “Jodocus medicus” gather at a country estate in Brabant, can be dated from the period of Erasmus’ service with the Bishop¹⁵. Pfeiffer also notes that some interruptions of Batt’s speech seem of later origin than the *oratio* as written for Cornelius¹⁶. The speech itself may also be expected to contain later additions. In revising his works Erasmus rarely re-wrote or deleted but frequently added¹⁷. Such additions in Batt’s speech are indicated by chronological references or by a manifest lack of continuity¹⁸.

Further separation of the component parts of the Gouda Mss. might be easier if it represented a single revision of the original. But there are traces of changes made to bring the work into conformity with Gaguin’s criticisms¹⁹ (though it does not matter for present purposes if a given passage dates from shortly before or shortly after Gaguin saw the manuscript). More importantly, Erasmus apparently made some revisions before he left the cloister. De Caprariis believes the allusion in Letter 30 to *partes oratorias* means Erasmus added at this time a few touches of dialogue²⁰. Some passages in the Gouda Mss. do point to an earlier dialogue in which Cornelius Gerard and William Hermans were the speakers. Batt’s promise to “gird ourselves for the struggle to which William has provoked us” (Hyma, p. 317) makes no sense in the Gouda Mss. because it was

15. Hyma, pp. 242-70, The speakers are identified by G.J.F. Sloodmans, *Erasmus en zijn vrienden uit Bergen-op- Zoom*, in : *Taxandria*, 35 (1928), pp. 113-23.

16. Pfeiffer, p. 66.

17. *Des. Erasmus Ausgewaehlte Werke*, ed. Hajo & Annemarie Holborn (Munich : Beck, 1933) permits examination of successive editions of important works. Of fifteen changes made in the Feb. 1520 edition of *Ratio Verae Theologiae*, for example, only one involves re-writing ; the rest are insertions. As for *Antibarbari*, Pfeiffer, p. 60, observes that the only significant passage to be deleted for the published version is a brief appreciation of William Hermans. Most of the changes made in 1520 are additions, eg. Batt’s description of the sermon in which a friar urged that concubines of secular priests be made to wear red crosses ; one of the company asks whether concubines of Franciscans, Carmelites and Dominicans should then be made to wear gray, white and black crosses respectively. The digression closes self-consciously : “sed ne longius ab instituto divagemur...” (Hyma, pp. 276-7).

18. Pfeiffer, p. 67, points to the passage which begins “Nuper quidem in Flandriae” (Hyma, pp. 319-21), describing the conversation at a dinner attended by Batt while on a diplomatic mission for the town of Bergen. It too closes with a self-conscious return to the theme : “Hec per digressum tangere volui...”

19. Gaguin to Erasmus, *Letter 46*, 1. 36-40, I, p. 154 : “Consule eos qui dialogis agunt. Punctis quibusdam atque articulis frequenter, perpetuis autem orationibus per semet disputant raro. Plato inter Graecos, inter Latinos Cicero et alii nonnulli iuniores tibi autores erunt”. Batt must explain why he, a layman, can discuss theology so fluently because if Erasmus should write down their conversation someone “te dialogum Platonico aut Ciceroniano more finxisse putans, neque decorum, neque probabile satis observasse calumniatur” (Hyma, p. 317). The Gouda Mss. has more dialogue than one might expect from Gaguin’s criticism.

20. Above, note 7.

the Burgomaster, whose name is also William but who is always called *consul*, who challenged Batt to refute the barbarians (pp. 268-70). Elsewhere, as Batt argues that arrogance is born of ignorance and not of learning, William finds "something contradictory. For you say that [the barbarians] please themselves and look down on their betters in so far as they think they are learned ; but that very point is an argument that it is learning which brings haughtiness" (p. 288). In the rest of the dialogue Hermans shares the views of Batt and Erasmus but this question makes him either a devil's advocate or a man not fully convinced the barbarians are wrong. The inconsistency would be removed by supposing an earlier dialogue in which Hermans had challenged the main speaker²¹.

Hence to show that a given passage looks like an insertion does not show that it dates from after Erasmus left the cloister. For example, the interesting passage in which Batt repudiates the Stoic doctrine on emotions (p. 288) looks like an addition (Appendix II, no. 2) but, unfortunately, it cannot be dated. Nonetheless parts of Batt's oration may still be dated either from the original *oratio* or from revisions made in 1494/5. At the beginning of his speech Batt divides his enemies into three groups : those who oppose all learning, those who accept ecclesiastical learning but reject secular or pagan authors, and those who favor all kinds of learning but in such a way that they do more harm than good. Barbarians of the third kind, by whom the scholastics are meant, are more difficult to deal with and so the attack on them will be postponed. Batt will confound the other, less difficult barbarians first by "sturdy reasonings", then "by the testimony of sacred letters" and finally by examples of famous men (pp. 271-3). The argument proper begins with a formal statement of grievances reminiscent of Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae* :²²

Quo tandem iure, o vos Gothi, e vestris egressi limitibus, non modo
Latinorum provincias occupastis (disciplinas loquor liberales) verum
etiam ipsam urbem rerum dominam, Latinitatem audetis incescere ?
(p. 273).

Thereafter Batt frequently adverts to the kinds of barbarians and to the outline of his argument against them. The "sturdy reasonings" are that the barbarians condemn literature without knowing it (pp. 274-7), that things discovered by pagans must not be rejected simply for that reason (pp. 277-84) and that "Men become insolent because of ignorance rather than because of learning"

21. In answering the question on p. 288, the main speaker mentions that "accedo enim ad annum undetrigesimum". This could fit Batt in 1494 because he is described as "adolescens" (p. 318) when he taught school a few years earlier. But it would fit Cornelius Gerard (i.e. c. 1489) even better in light of the conclusion of P.C. Molhuysen, *Cornelius Aurelius*, in : *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N.S. II (1902), pp. 1-28, that he was born c. 1460.

22. Above, note 10.

(pp. 285-303). Next Batt employs citations from Scripture (pp. 303-08) and from St. Jerome and St. Augustine (pp. 308-17). Finally, he refutes the objection that the simplicity of the saints proves learning is unnecessary by appealing to the examples of biblical and Christian authors. Except for the use of Augustine (see Appendix III, no. 5) all these themes are found in Erasmus' writings of c. 1489. Thus passages which closely adhere to the outline, especially if salted with quotations from Valla's *Elegantiae* or Jerome's *Epistles*, the textbooks of Erasmus' youthful humanism, may be presumed to date from the original *oratio*.

Passages not strictly necessary to the argument need not for this reason alone be dated later, for even in works of c. 1489 Erasmus was not so impressed by the requirements of logical sequence that he was unwilling to digress or enlarge on a theme²³. Further, passages that can be identified as insertions need not, for the reason just explained, be assigned to the 1494/5 version. But in specific cases digressions or enlargements can reasonably be attributed to the period of Erasmus' friendship with Batt. For example, one long passage (Appendix III, no. 4) refers twice to the unusual fact that Batt, a layman, can cite so many ecclesiastical authors from memory. Another (Appendix III, no. 6) relates a conversation said to have occurred in Flanders while the speaker was on a mission *vestro nomine*, a fact in keeping with Batt's position as *oppidi Bergensis publicus a secretis* (prologue, p. 243). Attacks on scholasticism would be *prima facie* of later date, though not necessarily 1494, because the original *oratio* intended to defer until Book II a confrontation with the third genus of barbarians, i.e. the scholastics. Finally, some passages can reasonably be dated after Erasmus' departure from the monastery because of the sources quoted. For example, Erasmus is known to have studied the works of Augustine during his service with the Bishop of Cambrai; there is only one citation from Augustine in his other works of c. 1489²⁴. If the library at Steyn was lacking in works by the patron of the Augustinian Canons, it probably was not well supplied with pagan authors. When he published *De Contemptu Mundi* in 1521, a work that by then somewhat embarrassed him, Erasmus claimed that at the time of its composition (c. 1489?) he was *nulla tum instructus auctorum lectione*²⁵. While making allowance for the self-interestedness of his assertion, one may still conclude that if a passage (Appendix III, no. 2) contains specific references to Plato's *Laws*,

23. E.g. the digression on false monks in *Oratio de Pace: Opera Omnia*, ed. Leclerc, VIII, 549CD.

24. For Erasmus' study of Augustine, Appendix III, no. 5. The earlier citation occurs as Erasmus denounces tavern dancing in *De Contemptu Mundi, Opera Omnia*, ed. Leclerc, V, 1250AB.

25. Letter 1194, 1. 13-5, IV, p. 458. E. Ypma, *Het generaal-kapittel van Sion* (Nijmegen 1949), p. 103, notes that the Steyn library had copies of works by Cicero, Sallust and Terence – a good collection for a monastery library.

Plautus, the Iliad, and Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, it must reflect reading not available to Erasmus in the cloister. For tracking down such references the recent critical edition of *Antibarbari* by Kasimierz Kumaniecki is very helpful²⁶. By these means the text of the Gouda Mss. can be divided into the original *oratio* (Appendix I), additions of uncertain date (Appendix II), and additions of 1494 (Appendix III).

*

Analysis of the Gouda Mss. into its component parts will not require any revision of Paul Mestwerdt's characterization of the basic mood of *Antibarbari* as "ethical optimism"²⁷. Confidence in the power of education to improve human nature, characteristic of fifteenth century Italian humanism, is nowhere more evident in Erasmus' works. Writing prior to Hyma's publication of the Gouda Mss., Mestwerdt did erroneously assume that passages of the printed version specifically attacking the mendicant orders would be found also in the original. But Hyma in turn was overly hasty in drawing the conclusion that Erasmus in 1494/5 had not yet rejected monastic values²⁸. The 1494/5 version differs from the original precisely in the intensity and profundity of its attack on the religious basis of traditional Christian (and monastic) arguments against pagan literature.

The original *oratio* (Appendix I) concentrated on the first genus of barbarians, those who "fully uneducated, detest all literature under the name of poetry, because of envy and stupidity - which is greater I cannot say - and using religion (what kind I know not) as a pretext" (p. 271). Such men were quicker to spot pagan tendencies in others than ignorance in themselves: "This man is accused because, neglecting the Gospels, he is much absorbed in Aristotle; are you then free of blame, who do not understand nor even read the Gospels?" (p. 316). They sought worthy examples to justify their laziness: "O sacrilegious impudence, they dare call the Apostles boorish (*rusticos*) to safeguard their own boorishness" (p. 317). Against such arguments Erasmus asserted that the Apostles were learned: "Since they like to insult the Apostles: was Paul boorish? He was the only one, they say, who brought liberal learning to the

26. Kumaniecki's edition, in *Opera Omnia Des. Erasmi Rot.*, vol I (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1969), has valuable notes on Erasmus' sources, but has the disadvantage, for present purposes, of listing Gouda Mss. readings among the *Varia* of the 1520 printed edition; hence the Gouda Mss. will be cited from Hyma's edition, as checked against Kumaniecki's text. Paragraphing will be based on Kumaniecki.

27. Paul Mestwerdt, *Die Anfaenge des Erasmus* (Leipzig: R. Haupt, 1917), pp. 253-5.

28. Hyma, *Youth of Erasmus*, p. 190.

apostolate ; yet he alone is preeminent among the others, for what reason, if not for his learning ? for I imagine them to have been equal in piety... Was James boorish ? Then falsely do we attribute to him that epistle, which seems to be of a man not only wise, but also eloquent" (p. 318). On a more fundamental level he contended that the intellectual attainments of the Greeks and Romans could not be despised by Christians because they were a part of divine Providence : God "willed that all other ages before and to come should subserve that golden age in which He had decreed to be born ; it pleased Him that whatever [of good] there was in the nature of things be referred to the accumulation of happiness and glory in this one age" (p. 283). Since each age has its contribution to make, "Christ, since He had destined for his age knowledge of the highest good, determined that previous age should be given that which most closely approximates the highest good, namely the highest learning" (p. 284). Mestwerdt finds this argument the most original thought in *Antibarbari*²⁹.

Less attention is given the second genus of barbarians, those who contend that, as distinguished from sacred learning, "secular learning provides matter for insolence". No good thing, replies Erasmus, is exempt from misuse : "Not fasting, not alms, not chastity, not virtue itself. Philosophers swell with pride, poets like themselves too much. But you : do not theologians swell with pride ? Is any kind of arrogance more supercilious ? But who dares assert that most holy theology itself is at fault ?" (pp. 286-7). His own suspicion of scholasticism - if not of theology *per se* - is indicated in brief comments about the third genus of barbarians : "One with his commentaries obscures rather than illustrates the best authors, contaminates rather than adorns ; another strives to correct (a text) he does not understand ; another makes bad Latin of good Greek, ignorant of both tongues ; so, as I say, they jostle one another, confound everything with their useless ministrations, deprave and overturn ; the more diligently each does his duty the more harm results, as if someone first rubbed his hands in excrement then tried to remove a dust stain from purple" (p. 273)³⁰. Erasmus here followed Lorenzo Valla's argument that medieval schoolmen had corrupted the treasures of the ancients by their ignorant handling³¹.

Finally, the original *oratio* contained at least hints of a more direct attack on the religion of the barbarians. Hyma noticed that phrases such as *litere seculares* or *doctrina secularis*, common in the Gouda Mss. but not elsewhere in Erasmus, were usually changed in the first edition of *Antibarbari* to the more customary "humane learning" or "polite letters". There was precedent for *seculares*

29. Mestwerdt's discussion of the book, pp. 253-82, remains valuable.

30. See Appendix I for the context. "Et ut semel finiam", which begins the paragraph, suggests that this passage too may be a later insertion, but there is no further evidence. The previous paragraph, pp. 272-3, while less specific and less vehement, expresses substantially the same criticism of scholastic learning.

31. Valla, *Elegantiae*, preface to Bk. I ; *Opera* (Basel : Petri, 1540), pp. 4-5.

litterae - for example in Jerome's Epistles³² - but Erasmus seemed to insist on it in *Antibarbari*. In *De Contemptu Mundi* he had employed *seculum* and *secularis* in the traditional monastic sense, meaning "the world" as a source of dangerous enticements³³. The barbarians, according to Erasmus, spoke of pagan learning as "secular" in precisely this sense. Thus his insistence on accepting their term may imply a rejection or at least questioning of monastic values ; in a passage added at an uncertain date he clearly changes the connotation of "secular" from negative to positive : "I therefore consider nothing to merit the name of learning unless it be secular (for so they call ancient learning) or at least founded on and instructed by secular letters" (p. 285). Elsewhere the argument Erasmus puts in the mouth of the barbarians seems likewise to imply an oblique criticism of their religion : "Who does not see what sacrilege it is for a man who has already given his name as a Christian soldier (*Christiane milicie*), who has already initiated and bound himself to Christ the Emperor, to cross over to the demon enemy and have commerce with idolaters ?" (p. 280). The traditional theme of Christian militia³⁴, later adopted by Erasmus for his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, seems here to be discredited.

*

In the additions of 1494 Erasmus evidently felt more secure in his position. No longer did he make such extravagant claims for literature. In 1489 he asserted that *litere* had induced *saxeos illos et agrestes homines* to adopt a civilized mode of life (p. 287) ; in 1494 he said only that "a learned man maintains at least a pretence of integrity, which is close to virtue, while an ignorant man expects to be praised for his vices" (p. 300 ; Appendix III, no. 4). No longer did he labor to prove the apostles were learned (*Sed fingamus rusticos fuisse apostolos*) ; it sufficed to point out the deceitfulness of imitating nothing about the apostles except their *rusticitas* (p. 318 ; Appendix III, no. 6). The 1494 version is characterized rather by a frontal assault on the barbarians, directed against their religious learning and especially against their religion.

Subsequent to c. 1489, if not in 1494, the main speaker questioned "what, to tell the truth, we (Christians) have ever discovered, which is not unlearned ?"

32. Jerome, Epist. 70, ed. Hilsberg, I, p. 702 : "Sapientiam secularem".

33. "Ridicula, inquires, comparatio. Quid seculo cum pelago convenit, cum altero nihil sit blandius, altero nil horridius ? Imo si proprius intendere vacet, haud scio, an ulla sit accommodatio. An tibi Sirenum male dulces moduli, quibus praeternavigantes sopire, tumque mari mergere solitae feruntur, male blandas seculi illecebras inepte videntur exprimere ?" *Opera Omnia*, ed. Leclerc, V, 1241CD ; cf. 1249CD, 1257B.

34. E.W. Kohls, *Die Theologie des Erasmus*, II, pp. 86-7, gives references for the history of this theme.

(p. 285 ; Appendix II, no. 1). Virgil was thought to burn in hell because he was a pagan ; but “if we wish to follow conjecture, I will easily convince you that either those men from among the pagans are saved, or no one is saved” (p. 281 ; Appendix III, no. 3). Scholasticism, invented by the Christian middle ages, dealt with “fine points of theology, not pertinent to the issue, by which they stir up among themselves the most fierce debates” (p. 304 ; Appendix III, no. 5). They scorn Jerome as a mere rhetorician, not a theologian, “only because they understand nothing but Scotist commentaries and grow old in the glosses of Accursius” (p. 314 ; Appendix III, no. 5). “In ancient times theologians were considered poets, and I honestly admit being as delighted by the eloquence of theological writings as of Ciceronian. But often when I force myself to try recent [theologians], reading makes me vomit, so much does their barbarism of speech and their confusion offend me” (p. 294 ; Appendix III, no. 5). Erasmus here adopted Valla’s hope of reviving the theology of the Fathers, based on rhetoric rather than on dialectic³⁵. He also advanced a different objection to scholasticism : “How much more religious was Augustine than us, who, with untaught minds, break rather than enter into the secrets of divinity, and fly rather than climb, and, like giants raising towers into the sky, try against the will of Jove to occupy his citadel” (p. 322-3 ; Appendix II, no. 5). Whether it proceeds from Cicero’s skepticism about the value of abstract speculation, or from a sense of reverence not entirely unlike that which Erasmus elsewhere attacks³⁶, this was a more fundamental critique of the scholastic endeavor than anything raised in 1489.

The specifically religious objection to pagan learning was now attacked at its source : the barbarians “are greatly mistaken if they think to have praise for themselves for their contempt (*contemptum*) of anything”. To silence such boasting “I think it worth while to explain to the barbarians the nature of contempt (*contemnendi rationem*)”. Men have a natural desire, continues the

35. Valla, *Elegantiae*, preface to Book IV, esp.p.119 : “Cur non potius Ciceronis philosophia nocuisse putanda Hieronymo est, quam ars dicendi ? Nolo hoc in loco comparationem facere inter philosophiam et eloquentiam, utra magis obesse possit, de quo multi dixerunt, ostendentes philosophiam cum religione Christiana vix cohaerere, omnesque haereses ex philosophiae fontibus profluxisse”. Cf. *Antibarbari* p. 312, “Porro de philosophis... e quorum disciplina nulla fere non heresis nata est...” Jerrold Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Italian Humanism* (Princeton University Press, 1967) analyzes Valla’s adoption of Cicero’s conception of the subordination of philosophy to rhetoric.

36. Kohls, *Die Theologie des Erasmus*, pp. 58-9, believes Erasmus’ criticism of theological speculation stems from a respect for the mysteries of divine revelation, as indeed it probably does in part. But Kohls neglects the suspicion of speculative reason which is characteristic of the rhetorical tradition from Cicero through Valla and beyond.

speaker, for things that are virtuous, pleasant or useful ; such things include "wealth, distinction, dignity and pleasure". If a man has or desires these things, then "to have contempt is worthy of a strong and upright man insofar as, and only insofar as, they are an obstacle to virtue". Hence Erasmus repudiated the argument, which he himself had advocated in *De Contemptu Mundi*, that Christian virtue counselled an avoidance of wealth, pleasure and distinction so as not to be tempted³⁷. "Plato does not much approve the custom of the Lacedemonians, because, although they easily had contempt for the hardest labors, they seemed to have little practice against pleasure" (pp. 277-8 ; Appendix III, no. 2). If anything the main speaker has contempt for those who seek shelter from the world : "They believe themselves safe if they continually hide in their shells like tortoises, and worry more morosely about the smallest details of physical comfort" (p. 295 ; Appendix III, no. 4).

Ultimately the speaker's defense of whatever the barbarians call "secular", which is heightened in the 1494 version³⁸, is a function of the "ethical optimism" to which Mestwerdt called attention. Both in *De Contemptu Mundi* and in *Antibarbari* (1494) Erasmus believed in the moral value of strenuous effort. But in *De Contemptu Mundi* the strenuous labor of a virtuous man could avail only to save himself from the Siren voices of "the world"³⁹. *Antibarbari* expresses confidence in the power of human labor to change "the world" itself for the better. Labor toward this end is not just a virtue but a philosophical and even theological tenet. In the prologue Batt first enters the discussion with a declaration that man must accept responsibility for his own history. When previous speakers blamed the decline of the arts since ancient times on the stars, the Christian religion, or the senescence of the world, Batt could sit still no longer : "What is it to transfer the fault of men to things ? It is no more just than if a lustful man blames his youth, a miserly and sordid man his old age, an ambitious man his fortune, or a wrathful man his nature" (p. 254). Schoolteachers by their ignorance and civil authorities by tolerating them have brought on the calamity. Hence the remedy lies in throwing off lassitude and indifference. Batt twice compares his own effort to reform the school in Bergen to the labors of Hercules (pp. 264-5. 267), one of Erasmus' favorite allusions. Precisely on this point Batt is provoked to his greatest vehemence. When deprived of all other excuses the

37. Cf. the continuation of the thought quoted above, note 33 : if great Ulysses barely escaped the Sirens, "Tibi porro quid spei est, in cuius unius perniciem tot pariter res conjurarunt, aetas lasciviens, libertas, monstrorum denique istorum heu nimium dulcium nocturna diurnaue carmina ?" 1241DE.

38. Cf. five passages in which *secularis* is emphasized either by repetition or by being used in a polemical way : p. 285 (Appendix II, no. 1), p. 295 (III, no. 4), p. 306 (III, no. 4), p. 315 (III, no. 5), and p. 318 (III, no. 6).

39. "Res ardua, and quae non passim vulgo persuadeatur". 1240F.

barbarians still decline to imitate the industry of Jerome and Augustine because, they say, these men achieved what they did by inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Batt continues this line of reasoning : if all knowledge comes from the Spirit men must decide “whether we should command that everything be infused at once, or prefer that as often as there is need the Spirit will be there, presto’. The latter is obviously preferable since it would not involve the labor of remembering. Thus “if a book is to be written He flies hither to guide our pen. If we have an oration to deliver He hovers at our ear in the form of a dove to move our tongue ; we need only to breathe in order to say with the royal psalmist, ‘I have opened my mouth and drawn the Spirit to me’ ” (pp. 324-5 ; Appendix III, no. 7). This pitch of sarcasm is not excelled by anything Erasmus ever wrote.

Hence fear of “the world”, which underlay the barbarians’ fear of “secular” learning, is unworthy of Christian men. The religious basis of their argument is further discredited, according to Batt, by their own immorality : “Thou Hercules ! You are bested by the sweet softness of fornication, some childish pleasure leads you captive, flattery bears you away, reproach throws you into confusion, and you think yourself a strong man if you can have contempt for something [i.e. learning] greater than you can achieve ? ” (p. 278 ; Appendix III, no. 20). “You say the apostles were boorish and inexperienced ? So be it, we grant you that... But where did you read that the apostles went hunting ? that they used such splendid vestments ? that they kept a flock of mistresses at home ? that they squandered such great sums of money ? Out of zeal to imitate the apostles, please heaven, you raise up royal buildings into the sky with church funds” (p. 318-9 ; Appendix III, no. 6). The charge that men “nourished on ecclesiastical monies” seemed to vie in luxury “with Sardanapalus himself” was perhaps characteristic of the man whom Erasmus made the main speaker in this version of *Antibarbari* ; the clergy of Bergen had questioned the right of a mere layman (*hominem prophanum*) to teach secular letters, and Batt’s personal dislike of “cowled heads” was well-known⁴⁰. His description of churchmen in the prologue as preferring “to imitate Epicurus rather than [the Stoic] Chrysippus” probably included luxury as well as laziness. In *De Contemptu Mundi* monastic life was called Epicurean because of its joy and tranquillity⁴¹.

40. “Me hominem adolescentem, prophanum, civilibus addictum negociis, et literas ipsas seculares profitentem, in crimen vocant”, p. 318 (App. III, no. 6) ; “scio tibi quidem cucullatos istos omnes invisos haberi”, p. 295 (App. III, no. 4).

41. “In monasteriis voluptas, inquis ? Delphinum sylvis appingis, fluctibus aprum. Imo vero, mi Jodoce, tota vitae nostrae ratio Epicurea est. Quid istuc, inquis ? Audies : Negat Epicurus eas admittendas esse voluptates, quas majores molestiae consequantur... Verum, jam dudum audire te velle, suspicor, quibus hic animi pascamur voluptatibus. Primum eo horribili sordidae conscientiae cruciatu vacare, Epicuro auctore, ne ab eo recedamus, voluptas est maxima. Nam illi non parum multum est quod gaudeat, cui nihil est quod doleat. Deinde coelestium atque immortalium deliciarum contemplatio, in quas nos venturos, Deo volente, speramus, an non voluptaria res est ? ” 1257C, 1258AB.

Now monks were called Epicurean because they sought a craven comfort : “I see that certain [religious] come close to the Epicurean doctrine, for, in an incredible flight from labor, they embrace a certain base and shadowy life. They think themselves safe if they hide in their shells like tortoises, and worry more morosely about the smallest details of physical comfort” (p. 295 ; Appendix III, no. 4).

Erasmus thus perceived a more than accidental connection between the religion professed by the barbarians and their lazy and voluptuous life. Prompted apparently by some experience in the monastery, he had already described c. 1489 how a “hypocrite could simulate virtue : “This pestiferous and deceitful kind of men abounds everywhere, also in monasteries”. They knew how to “hang the head down in the shoulders, wear an emaciated face, darken the brow, move the lips in a perpetual murmur, and withdraw themselves from the company of men⁴²”. By 1494 classical authors provided him with models of “pretended religion” to which the barbarians could be assimilated : “Theirs is a religion of evil-doers, thieves, murderers, who, once they have already planned a crime, then run to the alters and temples, like the criminal old slave in Plautus” (p. 277, Appendix III, no. 2). Monks in particular could be assimilated to the Cynics, wandering preachers whose stringent morals were said by some ancient satirists to be a mask for vice⁴³. Hence, in a line of attack suggested by the classics, the barbarians were “hypocritical teachers, whose life is condemned by him who knows it” (p. 282 ; Appendix III, no. 3). Fear of paganism was an excuse for laziness ; religion itself was an excuse for worse : “These clever men impose on themselves as well as others, not because they are moved by any zeal for religion - indeed they never wish to be taken for religious in any but this one thing - but because, as Fabius says, they wish to hide in the shadow of a great name” (p. 277 ; Appendix III, no. 2).

But Erasmus had another, more complicated explanation for the connection between the religion of the barbarians and their morals. Batt once dined with a clerical friend who “liked, after the fashion of soldiers in the Comedies, to boast of his evil deeds, how many lady friends he had in that city, or how often and by what means he made his way in to other men’s wives”. But when Batt offered “something rather pleasant from the fables of the poets” his host “assumed a certain new religion” at the very mention of gentile authors : “Never in my life have I ever touched them, nor will I, if heaven be propitious to me” (p. 305 ; Appendix III, no. 5). On a mission to Flanders, dining apparently with another clergyman, Batt recited the fable of Tantalus. When his host learned where it came from he asked him “not to name those pagans at his table, lest our holy

42. *Oratio de Pace, Opera Omnia*, ed. Leclerc. VIII, 549CD.

43. “Cinici nostri”, Hyma, p. 296. Natale Caccia, *Note sulla Fortuna di Luciano nel Rinascimento* (Milan : Signorelli, 1914) pp. 24,36, points out that humanists borrowed Lucian’s critique of the cynics for use against the monks.

fellowship be profaned with their filthy names". This man was a connoisseur of fine food and wine, one of those clerical "portents" who affected "Sybaritic banquets" (pp. 319-20 ; Appendix III, no. 6). If not necessarily in the case of these men, Erasmus was willing to admit that some who objected to the classics were moved by a religious instinct, albeit perverted : "they hold themselves aloof from study almost entirely, moved, in my opinion, by a certain religious fear lest if they begin to read books they stumble unawares on some pagan author" (p. 319).

Others "wish to have ecclesiastical learning, yet abstain from every secular discipline like a Jew abstaining from unclean things, forgetting in the meantime Paul's statement that all things are clean to the clean" (p. 285 ; Appendix II, no. 1). Hence the barbarians, at least some of them, were not entirely pretending ; there was a type of religion based on a real if misguided fear of trespassing into intellectual regions forbidden to Christians. Even Augustine, though great and learned, "was of such strict, not to say timid (*meticulose*) conscience that he often seems to me to be afraid of things" (p. 310 ; Appendix III, no. 5). Though the word is not used Erasmus now understood the problem of "pretended religion" as what he would later call superstition.

Erasmus' rejection of the monastic ideal of withdrawal from the world was neither sudden nor steadfast. As Schottenloher observes, he never accepted, even in *De Contemptu Mundi*, the basic ascetic principle of self-denial⁴⁴. Even his early writings contain occasional hints that it might be better to brave the storms of the world than to flee it⁴⁵. In Paris, on the other hand, troubled by sickness and penury, and baffled by the "wonderful tribe of occultists" who lectured at the Sorbonne, he could long for the familiar surroundings of Steyn⁴⁶. But the 1494/5 *Antibarbari*, representing new experience of the world, new reading, and new friends like James Batt, remains nonetheless a watershed in his intellectual development. Refusing any longer to regard the world primarily as a source of temptation, he took up his life-long task of working for a reform of Christian society through a reform of education. Penetrating to the religious fear which partly motivated the arguments of the barbarians, he laid the foundation for his subsequent critique of "the religion of ceremonies". In the original *oratio* he was primarily a student of Valla's *Elegantiae*. In the 1494/5 version he became Erasmus.

University of Minnesota

44. Otto Schottenloher, *Erasmus im Ringen um die Humanistische Bildungsform (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 61 ; Münster : Aschendorff, 1933)*, pp. 49-50.

45. The pious widow Berta de Heyden, who in youth chose marriage rather than religious life, did better "inter tot vitiorum irritamenta omnis vitii nesciam vivere, inter tantos fluctuantis seculi tumultus, tranquillam (quod sola virtus efficit) vitam agere" : *Oratio Funebris, Opera Omnia*, ed. Leclerc, VIII, 554CD.

46. Letter 74, 1. 4, I, p. 201 : "Iam mundus displicet, contemno illas spes meas".

APPENDIX I : The *Oratio* of c. 1489

(p. 270) Orationis exordium.

Nisi et apud iudices literatissimos me scirem, et ipsa cause bonitate non mediocriter adiuvarer, vereretur ne in tanto stolidissimorum hominum odio non optimum hodie patronum litere fuerint habiture. Nunc vero tantum abest, ut omnia que ab istis antirhetoribus obiici vel soleant, vel queant, refellere me posse diffidam, ut in causa tam vincibili, ne principio quidem utendum putarim... Nam istos rabulas, qui obstinatis animis insaniam suam etiam confessam solent defendere, haud alio in numero quam Diogenes suam contionem pono. Pestifera est, mortalibus erudicio, optanda imperitia...

[For Erasmus' interruption and Batt's reply, see Appendix III, no. 1.]

(p. 271)... Antiquis igitur literis contra novos hostes patrocinium feremus, quibus quidem a triplice potissimum hostium genere negotium exhiberi video. Alii enim literariam Rempublicam tanquam funditus deletam cupiunt, alii imperium non quidem prorsus extinguere, sed arctioribus finibus includere moluntur. Postremi ita Rempublicam salvam esse volunt, ut afflictissimam velint, quippe in qua ipsi tyrannidem occupent... Et primi quidem illi mihi videntur, qui plane rudes, haud scio invidia ne aut stoliditate maiore, religionis (nescio cuius) pretextu, literaturam universam poeseos nomine detestantur. Alteros ego intelligo, qui indocte docti, cetera quidem studia (hoc est sua) utcunque recipiunt, humanitatis autem literas, sine quibus ceca est omnis doctrina, angue peius oderunt. Postremos vero, quos alios esse dicam quam eos, qui quodvis literarum genus et mirantur, et probant, cum primis etiam poesim et rhetoricen, at ea lege, ut ipsi pro summis et poetis et rhetoribus habeantur, cum nichil sint minus... Nam primi quidem illi... Rabiose enim ferae in morem devotis animis in pugnam ruunt... (p. 272) Hii nimirum sunt qui cum ipsi sint omnis literaturae expertes, literatorum gloria peruruntur... Alteri hiis quidem paulo instructiores, qui et eminens et cominus nos petunt... Posteriores hoc minus nocentes, quod ab optimis abstinuerint, nam poeticis et oratoriis, sua tanquam contenti felicitate [*Hyma* has "simplicitate"]. Postremi dum omnia scire voluerunt, permiscuerunt, contaminaverunt, perdiderunt omnia... (p. 273) Et ut semel finiam, quod in unoquoque genere literarum muti et infantissimi, pro doctissimis in precio sunt, horum opera effectum est, quorum dum alius in grammaticis, alius in rhetoricis, alius in dyalecticis, alius in physica, alius in theologia scribit, dum hic commentationibus optimos auctores non illustrat sed obscurat, non adornat sed contaminat, dum ille quod non intelligit, emendare nititur... Verum hiis (quod res infinitam prope disputationem postulare videtur) dilatis, reliquis acies, totidem conflictibus adoriemur... Nam rusticanam illam cohortem tumultuario tantum militie dissipasse sat habebimus, et clipeo illo fictae religionis nudatos, in fugam adegisse, id quod haud multi fuerit negotii... Hos

igitur primum quidem validissimis rationibus tanquam telis, terga dare cogemus, deinde prelium (ut solent) redintegrantes, sacrarum literarum testimoniis, velut ensibus confodiemus. Deinde exemplorum copia castris quoque deturbabimus... Sed iam primi illi sunt lacessendi, si prius feccialis paterque patratus iusta peregerint.

Oratio feccialium

Quo tandem iure o vos Gothi, e vestris egressi limitibus, non modo Latinorum provincias occupatis (disciplinas loquor liberales) verum eciam ipsam urbem rerum dominam, Latinitatem audetis incescere ? ...

Quod litere compluribus tantopere sint invise, nichil esse in causa, nisi quod ignorent

(p. 274) Iam non auditi (proiecta hasta), bellum indixere fecciales, iam ad pugnam est hostis euocandus. Dicite, queso, brutissimi homines, Mide progenies statue marmoree, quid ita commeruere litere seculares (sic enim vos appellare soletis, quicquid non didicistis) ut vos eas tam obstinatis odiis insectamini... (p. 275)... At videte interim, quam iniquum sit odisse, nec scire neque quid oderitis, neque cur oderitis... An putatis obscuram rem cuicumque vestram invidentiam, an nos fucum vestrum fallere creditis ? an fugere nos, quid morbi vos urat ? Liceat tandem queso, rebus sua dare nomina, desinite aliquando pro invidentissimis et ignavis, religiosos ac pios velle videri.

[For the next two sections, pp. 275-80, see Appendix III, no. 2].

(p. 280) Absurde reprehendi quippiam quod ab ethnicis inventum

Hoc aceto perfusi, mirum est dictu, quanto clamore in nos irruant, Christianos esse negant, sed ethnicos, sed ydolatrias, et ipsis hereticis pestilentiores. An vero, inquiunt, is Christianus censendus qui disciplinis prophanis, et ab impiis hominibus ad superbiam excogitatis, tantum opere impartit, tantopere se oblectat ? ... Et quis non videat, quantum sit sacrilegium, hominem, qui iam Christiane milicie nomen semel dederit, semel Christo imperatori sit et iniciatus et inductoratus, ad hostes demones transfugere, et cum ydolorum cultoribus habere commercium ? an non habet (inquiunt) qui in dicendo Ciceronianum, in carmine Vergilianum aut Horatianum se nominari gaudet, in philosophia Aristotelicum, Academicum, Stoicum, Epicureum ?

[For the two pages that follow, see Appendix III, no. 3].

(p. 282) Sed ut rem aliquando finiamus, nisi adversarios nostros talpis ceciores [Pfeiffer notes the same phrase in Letter 31, l. 56, c. 1489:] sua redderet invidentia [see above, p. 275] certe viderent in rebus ab ethnicis inventis, aliquod inesse discrimen, alias esse inutiles, dubias, pestiferas : alias peritiles, salutares, imo necessarias... Nam si res mediocri usui futuras, ab illis ad nos traduximus, idque citra culpam, quid impedit quo secius idem de gentiliū

artibus faciamus? quibus (si quid Hieronimo credimus) nichil est in rebus mortalibus aut utilius, aut prestantius.

Divino consilio disciplinas ab ethnicis expolitas, ut nos uteremur non ut contemneremus

This important section is marked as part of the original oratio because its basic idea is a continuation of the last sentence of the last section, and because its last sentence (p. 284, "pro gratia quam debebamus, summa contumelia afficiamus") leads directly into a sentence on p. 285 ("Iam eciam vulgo dici audio... Que quidem contumelia...")

Quin ymo admirabilem rerum ordinem et harmoniam (quam vocant) paulo penitus introspicienti, videri mihi prorsus solet, nec mihi adeo soli, visum est idem et plerisque gravissimis auctoribus, non sine divino consilio disciplinarum inveniendarum negotium ethnicis datum esse. Immortalis enim ille rerum moderator... Hic aureo illi seculo, quo nasci decreverat, voluit ut omnes et anteacte et sequiture servirent etates, ad huius unius felicitatem decusque cumulandum quaecunque in rerum natura essent, referri placuit: quod ipsum se perfecturum pollicebatur. Qum, inquiens, exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me ipsum. Ubi mihi aptissime trahendi vocabulo videtur usus, ut intelligas omnia, vel inimica, vel ethnica, vel alioquin aliena, eciam si non sequantur ad Christi cultum, invita trahi debere. Et ubi est illa rerum harmonia, qua fit (divo Augustino teste) ut ne mala quidem ociose creata videantur... Iam ut imperiorum translationes preteream, quorsum pertinuit tanta mole Romanam condere gentem, tantis cladibus, tam cruentis victoriis urbi rerum domine universum subigere ordinem? nonne divino prorsus consilio? nimirum ut iam nata Christiana religio, facilius in singulas terrarum partes dimanaret, si ab eodem capite tanquam in membra diffunderetur. [*The religious justification of evil and of the Roman Empire, suggesting a study of St. Augustine, may have been added c. 1494: see Appendix II, no. 3*]. Age nunc, qua mente tandem orbem prope totum, tam vesanis, tam pudendis sunt religionibus irretiri? Nempe ut una exorta, universas summa cum gloria everteret... Iam vero in legibus, in philosophia, quantus sudor antiquis fuit? Quorsum tandem hec omnia? num et nos exorti contemneremus? an potius ut optima religio, pulcherrimis studiis tum honestaretur, tum (p. 284) fulciretur? ...

Hanc artium frugem illorum etas tulit, non tam sibi quam nostre Reipublice profuturam [*Hyma has "profecturam"*]: si quidem ut non quevis regio suppeditat omnia, nec omnis fert omnia tellus, ita seculis sue quibusque dotes michi distribute videntur. In summo bono querendo, plerique philosophorum et etatem et ingenium triverunt. Sed id quod erat summum et praestantissimum, sue Christus etati servavit, non ita tamen, ut ceteras inutiles, ac sine fruge actas voluerit: id quod oculis quoque testibus videmus vel corporis

in rebus diligenter cavisse naturam, ne qua portio temporis inutilis effluat. En arbores (admoneor enim aspectu ab hiis exemplum petere) primo iam vere frondibus alendis succum suppeditant... [*This illustration, which fits the rural setting of the prologue, may have been added c. 1494*]. Optimus igitur ille moderator Christus cum suo seculo summi boni cognitionem peculiariter destinasset, proximis ante seculis id tribuendum putavit, quod ad summum bonum proxime accederet, summam videlicet erudicionem... Quid enim ipsi reperissemus, qui illorum inventis non modo nichil unquam adiecimus, verum detrivimus permulta, perturbavimus omnia? Quo turpius ingrati sumus, imo invidi, qui res summo usui futuras ne gratis quidem oblatas accipere velimus, cum istis magno constiterint: nec munus solum pulcherrimum recusemus, verum etiam auctorem, pro gratia quam debebamus, summa contumelia afficiamus.

(p. 285) Homines ignorantia potius quam eruditione insolentiores fieri.

[*See Appendix II, no. 1, for the first two paragraphes on p. 285*].

Iam etiam vulgo dici audio, ut quisque literatissimus sit, ita iniquissimum esse. Que quidem contumelia [*The thought, and this word in particular, connects directly with the last sentence on p. 284*] non magis ad rhetoricos et poeticos, quam ad theologos, ad iureconsultos, ad dyalecticos, ad ceteros (p. 286) studiosos attinet... Hic nobis dyalectici incipiunt esse barbari: non reprehendimus, inquit, simpliciter eruditionem, sed quod astutos efficiat, intractabiles, elatos, insolentes, fastidiosos. Quid enim aliud petitis, inquit, quam vulgus effugere, eminere inter ceteros, predicari, celebrari, nos nostrique similes pro pecudibus ducere? Audistis quid istos religiosos mordeat, contemni nolunt... Scientia, inquit, inflat, charitas edificat... Attamen, inquis insolentie materiam ministrat erudicio secularis...(p. 287) Eho tu, nulli superbiunt theologi? An in ullo genere supercilium arrogantius? Quis tamen audeat sanctissimam theologiam in crimen vocare? Superbiunt hac permulti sed suo non theologie vicio. Nulli superbiunt illiterati? Quid istos insolentiores facit? Nempe ista impericia? Quid igitur facerent, si literas didicissent?

Ignorantiam esse superbie matrem. Eruditionem contra modestiam parere.

Nunquam quid minus verum dici potest quam homines literatura astutos, elatos, et fastidiosos fieri [*see above, p. 286*]. Si astutiam prudentiam appellant, nichil pugno, cum et in Evangelico consilio serpentum astutiam imitari iubeamur. De fastidio vero, cui non absurdum videatur? Quis igitur saxeos illos et agrestes homines ad humaniorem vitam, ad mansuetius ingenium, ad mores modestiores adduxit? nonne litere? ... An vero hoc illi fastidium appellant quod ipsorum barbariem non miramur... De modestia vero idem ego sentio, quod divum

Hieronimum et recte sensisse, et eleganter scripsisse video, impericium adducere confidentiam, scientie vero timorem esse comitem. Quod idem Quintilianum probe vidisse intelligo... Videmus enim permultos...Docent audacter que nesciunt... (p. 288) pestilens hominum genus et sua stoliditate dignum.

[*For the conversation between Guielmus and Batt, pp. 288-9, see Appendix II, no. 2.*]

(p. 289)...Quid enim dici potest, aut cogitari superbius, quam summa confidentia docere alios, quod ipse nescias? Quod isti nostri anthiacademici passim faciunt, qui cum nichil sciant, nichil non precipiunt. Ita me deus amet, ad vomitum usque nauseo, quoties quorundam delicias, et stultam gloriam ex operum inscriptionibus colligo. Qui cum nichil nisi meram barbariem evomuerint, audite queso quam splendidis titulis suas nugas adornaverint..Gemmulam..Margaritam.. Floretum..Rosetum..Catholicon.. Mammectrectum. Quod si in antiquis et eruditis has inscriptionum delicias docti non tulerint, quis in hiis barbaris ferat...(p. 290) Adde quod in tradendo nusquam herent, nichil addubitant, omnia constant, omnia precipiuntur? Credas eos non docere, sed leges prescribere...quanto satius Academicorum verecundiam imitari, ad quos cum isti ne componendi quidem fuerant, nichil tamen se scire professi, omnibus de rebus pudenter disputare, quam confidenter affirmare maluerunt.

Apart from Catholicon, this is a different catalogue of barbarians books than was common in Erasmus' works of c. 1489 : cf. Letter 26, l. 88-90, Allen I, p. 113 : Conflictus Thaliae ac Barbariei, Opera Omnia, Leclerc I, 892F. Further, the praise of the Academics for their nonassertiveness is reminiscent of Cicero, whose works Erasmus did not begin to study carefully until he was "twenty years old" (i.e. c. 1489 : Reedijk is to be preferred to Kohls on Erasmus' birth-date) : Letter 1390, l. 103-109, Allen V, p. 340. But that the barbarians teach what they do not know is a common theme of Erasmus' works of c. 1489 ; and these two paragraphs seem to follow naturally from what was said before Guielmus' interruptions. Hence the bulk of this passage fits into the original oratio.

[*For the rest of this section, pp. 290-92, see Appendix II no. 3.*]

[*For the first two pages of the next section, "Illud Pauli, scientia inflat, quomodo accipiendum," see Appendix II, no. 4 ; for the conversation between Batt and the physician, pp. 294-303, see Appendix III, no. 4.*]

(p. 303) Confutat auctoritates auctoritatibus

Hic cum Battus collectis oculis, aliquandiu intersiluisse, Deum immortalem, inquit, quantum disputationis campum aperiri video, sed sit modus. Dextrum

igitur cornu (ut arbitror) vel profligavimus, vel inclinavimus : urgent tamen hostes, et sinistram alam infensis armis admovent, sacrarum literarum armis nos eminus et cominus [see above p. 272] territant. Primum igitur erit hostibus sua tela eripere : deinde suomet ipsos, (ut inquit comicus) gladio iugulare. Rationibus cedere coacti, ad ecclesiasticas literas confugiunt et nobis occinunt, quod ipsi non intelligunt. Hic mihi Catho nescio quis, reducto mento, labiis prorectis, oculis stupidis, supercilio sublato, dextera prelata, leva cingulo iniecta : Facessant, inquit, humanae cavillationes, audiamus quid divina scriptura iubeat... Noli altum sapere sed time. Rursum alibi. Qui se existimat aliquid scire, nondum scit quemadmodum oporteat eum scire, et qui sibi videtur sapiens, stultus fiat ut sit sapiens...Item divus Iacobus. Non est enim ista sapientia desursum descendens, sed terrena, animalis, dyabolica..Huiusmodi aliquot sententias homines ineptissimi in nos iaciunt, quas omnes recensere, tum ociosum sit, tum ad nichil utile, presertim quod et eodem spectent, et eadem ratione dissolvi possint...quum tam evidens sit, ut (quod inquit) (p. 304) senti possit manibus, hiis sententiis non vituperari eruditionem, sed eos, qui aut efferunt sese, quod paulo sint eruditiores, aut eis in studiis vel immodici vel intempestivi inveniantur, aut sue sententie tenaciores audeant ab ecclesiasticis opinionibus desciscere, aut certe alioqui bonis literis abutantur...Ita ne in solos eruditos cadit, altum sapere, at non multo maxime in stolidissimum quemque ? ...Eruditio ista non apte canuntur, stolidis ista cantentur, qui alienam eruditionem fastidiunt, suam rusticitatem mirantur. Et que tandem est illa sciencia animalis dyabolica ? Utique que zelum amarum habet, que contentiones et similitudines parit, que adversus veritatem dimicat : hoc apostoli sentiebat animus, hoc ipsa sermonis series ostendit.

[For the rest of this paragraph, the discussion of non-scriptural authorities, pp. 304-12, and the discussion of mathematics and other arts, pp. 312-5, see Appendix III, no. 5. The citation from Jerome's Letter 70, pp. 308-10, was probably part of the original oratio].

(p. 315) Dic mihi tu marmorea statua, et fruges consumere nate [see p. 274], ita ne credis summis illis (p. 316) viris [from what follows it is apparent that the authors of Scripture are meant here], et in omni literarum genere consummatissimis cordi fuisse, ut tuam illam supinam oscitationem atque ignaviam predicarent ? Dictum est [apparently a reference to "non altum sapere"] recte, nempe ad deterrendos curiosos ab nimio, ab insani studio : dictum est ad compescendam arrogantiam : dictum est fortassis ad consolandam simplicitatem columbinam, non ad fovendam stoliditatem asininam. Quid tu gestis ? quid triumphas inepte ? ... Hic accusatur, quod omissis Evangeliiis plurimus sit in evolvendo Aristotile, tu culpa vacas, qui ne Evangelia quidem intelligis, nec legis...Sed ut aliquando mee loquacitatis modum faciam, et stomachum effervescentem cohibeam, nusquam nobis ista obiicerent imperiti, si relicta oscitatione sua sacris literis legendis invigilarent. Hic quum Battus brevi interiecto

silentio, nos familiarius esset intuitus, Bone Deus, inquit, iam prope exciderat apud quos dicerem, ita nescio quo furore correptus, in presentes hostes mihi visus sum debachari. Equidem tam disertarum aurium patientiam admiror, que me puerili more tot verba fundentem, tam diu ferre queant. *Guilielmus*. Et nos, inquit *Guilielmus*, nescio quo tua disputatio impetu abripuerat suo : itaque propera quaeso, ac periculum facito, an tu nos prius dicendo, an nos te audiendo superemus.

These two comments were probably among the first touches of dialogue added by Erasmus to the oratio. "Batt" would not speak as he did if his speech had been interrupted by the long conversation with the physician, pp. 294-301. Kumaniecki, pp. 120-121, notes that the comments of William and Erasmus are transposed in the printed edition. But Batt's rejoinder, "Tuum [i.e. of Erasmus] calumum metuis" requires the order given in the Gouda Mss.

The next two comments, in which Erasmus notes Batt's knowledge of theology, unusual for one devoted to the Muses, and Batt refers to Erasmus' writing a dialogue "Platonico aut Ciceroniano more" (see above, note 19), can be dated c. 1494.

(p. 317) *Battus*. Quoniam adversarios primum rationibus, deinde testibus vicimus, unicum illis profugium superest, exempla quorundam probatoris vite, quos aut citra eruditionem doctos habitos, aut virtutis studio literas contempsisse obiiciunt, a quo illos presidio si eiecerimus, reliquum est, ut aut in deditionem veniant, aut certe fuga turpissima victos se profiteantur. Age accingamur certaminis huius reliquias profligare. Videtis, inquit, fidem Christianam non a physicis, non a dyalecticis, ortam, sed a rusticis O sacrilegam impudentiam, audent rusticos dicere apostolos quo suam rusticitatem tueantur...Dic mihi os pestilens, et ferro inurendum, rusticos ais fuisse apostolos? ...Quorsum igitur pertinuit, non Platonem aut Chrisippum, aut philosophum aliquem, sed ipsum philosophie parentem tantum temporis sectari preceptorem, audire disputantem? ... (p. 318)... Ut resurrexerat, quadraginta dies in terris moratus, subinde discipulis suis apparuit, monuit, docuit, parum erat hoc quoque. Ipse in celum relatus paracletum dimittit, qui nichil illos iam nescire pateretur. Et audent post hec omnia homunciones rusticitatem obiicere apostolis...Quandoquidem apostolos conviciari libet, rusticus Paulus? ...Rusticus est Ioannes? ...An rusticus est Petrus? ...Iacobus rusticus fuit? Falso igitur huic illa tribuitur epistola, qui videtur non modo sapientis, verum eciam diserti.

[For pp. 318-21, "Sed fingamus rusticos fuisse apostolos" to "Hec per digressum tangere volui", see Appendix III no. 6].

(p. 321) Alioquin si id recte fit quod multorum fit exemplo, quot et quantos habemus quos imitemur? A Moyse repetamus, quid eo imperatore sanctius? at

hic omnem Egypciolorum [sic] disciplinam a puero doctus legitur...At ne cavillentur, id cum lege Mosayca desiisse fas esse, Paulum apostolum eis proponam, Pauli discipulum...Qui cum esse Atheniensis antistes ecclesie, Adriano imperatori librum porrexisset creditur tante eruditionis ut acerrimam in Christianos persecutionem suo ingenio sedaverit...Clemens preceptor Origenis, Alexandrine ecclesie presbyter vir omnium longe doctissimus...Sed plane harenas metiar, si hic tendam omnem eruditorum cathalogum revolvere...Deflectant paulisper obtutum ab exemplis domesticis, evolvant veterum Chronicas, evolvant eos qui de scriptoribus scripserunt illustribus, inveniant Origenem, Gregorium, Nazianzenum, Didymum, Hylarium, Basilium, Iohannem Chrisostomum... (p. 322)...quorum omnium ethnicam eruditionem, ymmo et Christianam effert, miratur Hieronimus...At Origines hereseos notam non effugit...

[For the next 30 or so lines, for "Age ne huius" to "praecipitatur", which are more critical of scholasticism than seems warranted by what follows, see Appendix II, no. 5].

(p. 323) Beda monachus, vir Anglus quidem, sed et vite probitate, et doctrine non contemnente, adeo scolasticas disciplinas non contempsit, ut de schematis grammaticis et carminibus condendis scribere non piguerit. Post hos quidem nitor politiesque theologie sensim in deterius degeneravit, ut non parum rubiginis cepit contrahere...Thomas Aquinas scriptor nobilissimus in Aristotilem ethnicum philosophum commentarios edidit, atque adeo in ipsis theologicis questionibus, ubi de summo principio, de Trinitate disputat, Ciceronis ac poetarum testimonia profert. Scotus tametsi a Musis prorsus alienus fuisse videtur, scolasticus tamen est. Et quid attinet recentiores, vel vivos commemorare? quorum licet sit inferior multo eruditio, is tamen inter ipsos videtur, prestantissimus, qui secularibus doctrinis instructissimus fuerit... [For the conversation between Batt and the Burgomaster of Bergen, pp. 323-30, see Appendix III, no. 7].

(p. 330) Hic cum Battus paulisper intersiluisse: Unam, inquit, aciem (ut arbitror) profligavimus, quam tamen non ita magni negotii fuit vincere [cf. "id quod haud multi fuerit negotii", p. 273]... reliquum est, ut confutemus eos, qui negant eloquencie dare operam Christianum oportere, verum huic bello non paulo difficiliore imperatorem perficiendum censeo tum integrum tum meliorem...(p. 331)... Qui eloquentie studium damnent, et plurimi sunt, et habent fortasse que dicant, si non vera aut certe verisimilia...Quare successorem mihi peto... [This was perhaps meant to lead into the second book as Erasmus projected it when writing to Cornelius: Letter 37, l. 12-4, l. 136].

APPENDIX II : Additions of Uncertain Date

- 1) Homines ignorantia potius quam eruditione insolentiores fieri.

p. 285 *Herasmus*. Hic ego, perdocte tu quidem et vere, Batte : at vix crediderim ullos esse tam omnis humanae rationis expertes, ut universam literaturam a religione segregandam putent, modo sit Christiana. Quasi vero, inquit Battus, ulla sit erudicio Christiana, que non eadem ineruditissima. Quid enim (si vera fateri velimus) post ethnicos illos novi a nobis repertum, quod non idem sit indoctum ? ...Ego igitur nullam erudicionem puto, nisi que sit secularis (sic enim appellant antiquam) aut certe seculari literatura condita et instructa. Eam (si perversa et impia absit opinio) Christianam eciam patiar appellari, quanquam non paucos adeo stolide religiosos comperio, ut ne Christianam quidem istam, id est ecclesiasticam multi faciant. Quid enim (inquiunt) si non simus theologi, si Christum bene scis, si cetera nescis. Non doctis, sed innocentibus promissa est immortalitas. Num idcirco damnabor, si divi Pauli scripta parum sublimiter intelligam ? ...quid si ne Evangelium quidem intelligam, stolide, imo quid si ne teipsum intelligas, quid si camelus sis, non homo ? Confide, eciam pecora celum obtinebunt. Hominum (me Hercule) genus non modo stolidissimum, verum etiam impium. Sed cum hiis mihi interim res non erit. Eo hunc sermonem interieci, ne mirareris si huiusmodi illam quam descripsimus eruditionem execrentur, qui Evangelia quoque contemnunt. Verum ut modo dicebam, cum hiis mihi res non est in presentia : de hiis loquor, qui ecclesiastice docti videri cupiunt, et ab omni seculari disciplina tanquam Iudaeus ab immundis abstinerent, illud interim Pauli obliti, et omnia munda esse mundis...

This section is marked as an insertion because there is mention of a digression - "hunc sermonem interieci" - and because the last sentence of what precedes (bottom of p. 284) leads into the first sentence of what follows : see Appendix I. The fact that the theme announced in the heading, that ignorance and not learning breeds arrogance, is not broached until the bottom of p. 285 may be another indication that this passage was added later.

- 2) pp. 288-9.

Guilmus. Dabis veniam si disputationis cursum paucis remorabor, Guilmus inquit. Aut ego fallor Batte, aut diversa et inter se pugnantia loqueris. Ais enim istos sibi placere, et fastidire meliores, eo quod sibi docti videantur : at istud ipsum est argumentum, erudicionem adducere superbiam. Quanam enim alia re sibi placent isti quam scientia etiam tenui, et prope nulla ? *Battus*. Certe nulla. Inscitia sua superbiunt isti, haud eruditione...Isti igitur si doctiores essent, essent et modestiores. Quod nolim mihi credatis, nisi ipsi in nobis experimur. Quid enim hoc aliud est, quod in inicio studiorum nostrorum, ubi disciplinas vix

a limine (ut dici solet) salutavimus, statim efferimur, et tum in ipsis rudimentis magis nobis placemus, quam ubi iam comparaverimus, iuvenum more qui quo minus habent prudencie, plus habent animi. Unde id ? Profecto qui nondum hoc ipsum scimus, quod nescimus : quanquam hec inanitas non temere a natura nobis insita videri potest, ut hac false gloriola excitati, ad summos labores capessendos provocemur. Alioqui qui tantas tam diuturnas vigilias adiret, si nichil magni sibi promitteret ? Nec in hac re plane cum Stoicis sentio, qui universos affectus non supervacaneos modo, sed et perniciosos arbitrantur. Michi ad virtutem tendenti nostris, tanquam pedagogi quidam videntur adhibiti. Hec igitur fiducia gloriaque, si modo non sit immodica, in tyronibus quidem non prorsus videtur inutilis, eo quod calcar et stimulum quendam ingeniis nostris subiiciat, nam freno vix invenias qui indigeant...De me fateor : equidem quum puer essem, prope sciulus eram... Nunc post tantum annorum, accedo enim ad annum undetrigesimum, in dies mihi magis magisque displiceo, et Socraticum illud amplector. Hoc unum scio, quod nichil scio... (p. 289)... Quod si mihi evenit homini ventosiore ingenio nato (est enim apud familiares simpliciter fatendum) quid aliis meliore mente peditis accidere putatis ? Tum Guielmus : Astipulor, inquit, ista in re tibi Iacobi : istuc enim ipsum, quod tu doctissime disseruisti, in me ipso et agnosco, et fateor, nec in paucis animadverti. Maturescunt eruditione ingenia, reddunturque tum molliora, tum mitiora. *Battus*. Ita prorsus (ait Battus) cuius rei nusquam non copiosissima exempla offerunt sese, sive nostra, sive veterum secula respiciamus.

The passage that begins with Guielmus' interruption, interesting for its partial repudiation of Stoicism, is marked as an insertion because the sentence immediately preceding - "sua stoliditate dignum", top of p. 288 - connects perfectly with the sentence immediate following : see Appendix I. Guielmus does not elsewhere in the dialogue play devil's advocate for the barbarians ; and he seems unaware that Batt has already granted his hearers permission to interrupt (see Appendix III, no. 1). Hence the passage, with its main line of argument, could date from some revision made by Erasmus before he left the monastery.

3) pp. 290-292.

Nec me fugit, esse qui hoc philosophorum genus parum probent, michi vel omnibus antefendum videtur, cur videatur alias fortasse. Iam si prisca repetimus, quid tam abfuit ab insolentia, quam Socratis doctum pariter ac facundum ingenium, quem nunquam puduit undequaque doceri, ne iam senem quidem ? ...preterea vox illa tam nobilis : Hoc unum scio, quod nescio...Et o utinam nostri temporis philosophastri, qui nobis fastum obiciunt, huius omnis philosophie parentis verecundiam, quam Gorgie promptam garrulitatem mallent imitari...sed aliorum exempla prosequamur. An fuit quicquam uno Pythagora vel acutius, vel doctius ? ...Quid de Solone et Herodoto loquor, quos iam natu

grandes, omnes (p. 291) orbis angulos pervagatos vidimus, laboriosa utique peregrinatione, tanquam impigros sapientie mercatores. Theophrastus philosophorum facile precipuus, moriens, cervis et cornicibus invidisse legitur, quibus natura vitam tam diuturnam tribuisset, homini tam exiguum...Quid autem de ecclesiasticis commemorem, quorum longe princeps Hieronimus, incredibili discendi aviditate, quem tandem preceptorem recusavit? ...Augustino quid eruditius? at quid eodem modestius? qui non solum se vel ab anniculo puero doceri paratum fatetur, verum nec ipsum errata puduit, et scriptorum suorum tanquam palinodiam canere...(p. 292)...Verum ego dum de immodestia disputo, modestie sum oblitus: altius enim in re clarissima disputationem repetisse me video. Sed ut finiam, ego sic mihi persuasi, si quem arrogantem et sibi placentem video, eum perdoctum esse non credam. Itaque quod isti superbiam adducere putant, id mihi ne superbiamus solum remedio videtur esse.

The last two pages of this section, beginning on p. 290 with "Iam si prisca repetimus" or perhaps with "Nec me fugit", are marked as an insert because the passage as a whole is devoted to examples of the principle that learned men acquire modesty with age: the principle itself was introduced in an earlier insertion ("cuius rei nusquam non copiosissima exempla offerunt sese", p. 289) of which this section seems to be a continuation ("sed aliorum exempla prosequamur"); the theme. "Hoc unum scio, quod nichil scio", identified as Socratic and not merely academic, was likewise introduced in the earlier insertion (p. 288). The use of exempla, needlessly anticipating a later section provided for in the outline of the oratio, is a further indication that this passage was added later.

4) pp. 292-4 Illud Pauli, scientia inflat, quomodo accipiendum.

Verum instant suo more, et illud Paulinum constanter ingerunt: Scientia inflat, charitas edificat...Neque mentitus est Paulus, sed parum intellectus, cuius quidem mentem ita demum accipiemus, si et priora, et consequentia cum mediis conferamus. Age, theologum interim Battus aget, mota erat divo Paulo de ydolicis questio, a quorum esu Christiani nonnulli infirmitate quadam conscientie sese continebant. Alii peritiores, qui intelligerent ydolicum nichil esse et mundis nichil esse immundum, sine discrimine vescebantur... (p. 293) Huiusmodi enim inflare scientiam, si fratrem prudens offendas: at charitatem edificare, si sine tuo detrimento fratris infirmitati concedas. Quid hec ad nos? quid ad philosophiam? quid ad oratoriam aut poeticam? ...Quantumlibet inflexeris, Paulus non vult scientiam esse nullam, sed incomitatum esse non vult, nempe sine charitate...Tutior est charitas, necessaria quidem scientia sed periculi nonnichil habens...An vero semper imperitis concedendum? (p. 294) Minime, sed dumtaxat, in quibus nisi violata charitate obsisti non potest, et indulgentia ea nichil videtur incommodi allatura. Non igitur deterritos a scientia voluit...Cur nos simplicem et castam Scripturam ad nostra vicia

trahimus ? ...cur non potius, si quem remis et velis (ut inquit Plautus) ad literas properantem viderimus, huiusmodi oratione proponemus : I bone quo virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto. Ad seculares disciplinas plenis velis raperis, sed caute naviges facito. Scopulos habet istud mare, aurum et smaragdos, sed per deum immortalem, cave tibi a veneni radicibus. Disces egregias artes... Cave sic illis studeas, ut recti tibi cura recedat, stude non minus melior esse quam doctior, bona est scientia, charitas melior. Utramque alteri si comitem adiunxeris, rem absolutam conficies.

The discussion of Paul's words is marked as an insertion because in the next section the main speaker talks as if no arguments from Scripture have yet been introduced : see Appendix I, p. 303. As to date, the mention of Batt's unusual role as theologian (see Appendix III, no. 1) points to 1494. But the argument of these two pages hangs together as a unit and seems distinct from what follows (Appendix III, no. 4) : and Batt's role as a lay theologian is not integral to the argument as it is in the following section. Hence the passage dates from later than c. 1489 but perhaps earlier than 1494.

5) pp. 322-3. Age ne huius quidem generis deerunt exempla. Hylarius in divorum numerum relatus est, hunc nobis proponamus. Cyprianus etiam martyrio, nec minus literatura seculari clarus, hunc sequamur. Ambrosio quid sanctius ? hunc emulemur. Hieronimo vel Augustino quid vel magis pium, vel literatius ? horum similes esse curemus. Quantum in hiis omnibus compositionis, linguarum, philosophie, historiarum, antiquitatis, Latinitatis, Grecanitatis, auctorum quantum peritia, et hec quidem ethnica adhuc. Conferamus, queso, cum hiis viris vel scolasticos, vel theologos nostri temporis. Videbimus utroque genere adeo inferiores, ut umbras dicas non homines, et in tanta gravissimorum hominum multitudine soli apostoli nobis in mentem veniunt, quos ita demum imitari nos credimus, si indocti simus ...Quod si nos apostolorum rusticitatem imitandi tantopere studium habet, miror cur non etiam piscari incipiamus. Sed extra iocum, Ambrosium imitari metus est ? Hieronimum imitari religio est ? Isti, inquiunt, nondum Christiani, et pueri adhuc, literis illis sunt imbuti. At Hieronimus parentibus Christianis natus, a puero Christianus, se tamen inter grammaticos et rhetores educatum fatetur, immo gloriatur...Augustinus ipse iam non ethnicus de singulis artibus liberalibus singula volumina scripsit... Sed esto sane peccaverit [Augustinus], erraverit, ignoraverit, cur iam sanior et senior hunc errorem non reprehendit ? ...Has enim disciplinas scintillas quasdam ait esse ab immortali illa luce promicantes, quarum indicio ad fontem illum perveniatur. Et quanto religiosius ille quam nos, qui animis rudibus, repente ad divinitatis archana non ingredimur, sed irrumpimus, (p. 323) non ascendimus sed involamus, et tanquam gigantes, extructis in celum molibus, invito Iove arcem illius occupare conamur : eoque ille (quia gradatim ascendit) receptus est, nos repellimur, deiicimur, precipitatur.

*As a whole this section cannot be dated ; some of the material may indeed belong to the original oratio. But the attacks on scholasticism are definitely of later date. The passage from "Conferamus, queso..." to "ut umbras dicas non homines" is obviously an insertion because it interferes with the sense of what follows, "et in tanta gravissimorum hominum multitudine", which, in turn, connects perfectly with what precedes. Also, the word scolasticos is used in a pejorative sense ; but in the previous paragraph ("scolasticis fuisse disciplinis instructissimos") and in the first paragraph on p. 323 ("scolasticas disciplinas non contempsit") it is used in a favorable sense. The difference is between an attack on those who despised all nonreligious learning (and to whom the original oratio was directed : see Appendix I, p. 273) and an attack on the reputedly false learning of the scholastics. From "At Hieronymus" to "praecipitatur" is again hard to date as a whole, but here the attack on scholasticism depends upon a reading of (not just a knowledge about, as on p. 289 : Appendix II, no. 3) Augustine's *Retractationes*. Erasmus may have had access to this work before he left the monastery, but there is no indication of such familiarity with Augustine in the writings of c. 1489.*

APPENDIX III : Additions of 1494

1) (p. 270) De fide igitur facienda iamdudum securus, hoc unum mihi a vobis video postulandum, ne in re tam intractabili, tam spinosa, ullum orationis splendorem expecteris, quem alioqui ne in felicissima quidem materia a (p. 271) Battō requirere debebatis. Nec delectari quidem postulabitis, nisi quid forte barbarorum ineptissime rationes risum movebunt. *Herasmus*. Tum ego veniam precatus, et licebit ne, inquit, aliquotiens interpellare ? *Battus*. Licebit, inquit, per me quotiens videbitur. *Herasmus*. Ita mihi principio supersedissee videris, inquam, ut hoc ipso quo non uteris, maxime sis usus principio : sed perge, obsecro, ne te primo statim cursu remoremur. *Battus*. Istud vero tuum est, respondit Battus, haud meum qui vafriem illam, et strophas rhetoricas perdidicisti, mihi sat habeo, rem ut est, quam paucissimis ostendere. Non hic altius repetam, quibus fatiis, quo tempore, quibus gradibus antiquae discipline in hunc Tartarum deciderint, id quod vos paulo ante ceperatis : alias hec fortasse commodius : neque vero refert quo casu quispiam in puteum deciderit, sed quomodo qui cecidit, inde queat educi.

This passage is marked as an addition because the speaker's disavowal of cleverness in rhetoric fits Batt's frank nature as described in the prologue : "Erat enim, ut ingenua quadam dicendi libertate, non sine dicaci vehementia peditus, ita non secus ipse barbaris quam illi literis infensus". p. 253. Further, Hermans' interruption of Batt on p. 288-9, itself an addition to the original oratio (see Appendix II, no. 2), was written earlier than this passage, because Hermans is unaware that Batt has already granted permission to interrupt. Finally, the speaker's prediction that the arguments of the barbarians will prove humorous is verified only in passages which for other reasons have been dated c. 1494.

2) (p. 275) Invidum esse, haud religiosum odisse literas, quas nescias.

Tum medicus inquit : Utar iure concessō, interpellabo. Preclarum te velitem declarasti, nec temere te Battum appellatum iam puto. Rogante illo, quid ita putaret : Non sunt, inquit, hec enigmata tibi qui fabulas perpulchre tenes. Ita probe barbarorum furta prodidisti, ut altera methamorphosi te ex indice [*Hyma* notes that the Mss. had "iudice"] illo lapide rursum in Battum revixisse (p. 276) propemodum credam : deinde scite istud hominum genus ad pugnam evocasti. Nulla enim re perinde in rabiem agi solent, quam si stoliditatis, si imperitiae opinionem illas impingas, hoc est si maxime vera audiant. Recte sentis, inquit Battus, nec mirum adeo, si tacto ulcere scabiosi commoveantur. Tum vero videres homines superbissimos, oculis ardescentibus, totiusque vultus immanitate, animi testare furorem ; nec inter hec quidem a simulandae religionis artificio recedunt : hac tanquam personati, suas tragedias agunt. Nam ut res omnium optima religio, ita (nobili historico teste) ad quidvis vitiis pretextendum commodatissimum pallium...(p. 277) Hanc igitur pietatem pro clipeo

obtendunt, hanc mirificam quandam assimilant,...non quod ullo religionis studio moveantur, quippe qui nusquam alibi quam hac una in re religiosi videri cupiunt, sed quod, Fabius inquit, ut sub magni nominis umbra delitescant. Nocentum est ista religio, furum, homicidarum, qui simul atque facinus aliquod designavere, tum demum ad aras ac templa solent confugere, ut servus ille apud Plautum sceleratissimus. Haud aliter nostri censores, quin ceteris in rebus et Dyonisii sint et Clodii, cum secularibus studiis agitur, tum demum Nume videri volunt, tum denique se tyrannos esse meminerunt, tum demum Evangelicas sententias canere incipiunt, et res fedas speciosis vocabulis palliantes, zelose, haud invidentia dicunt moveri, nec odisse studia nostra, sed contemnere, id homine Christiano dignum ac pulchrum in primis...Errant vehementer, si cuiusvis rei contemptum laudi sibi duci volunt. Quid enim si Thersites Grecorum ultimus, Achillis partam armis gloriam una cum ipsis armis, pro quibus Aiaci cum Ulisae certamen erat, dicat se homo ignavissimus contemnere, nonne universis cachinnum moverit ? ...Equidem opere precium puto barbaris, ne mihi perpetuo de suo contemptu glorientur, contemnendi rationem ostendere.

(p. 278) Que res cum laude contemnantur, et que secus .

Sunt enim in rebus humanis quedam, que mortalium animos insita quadam sui cupiditate sollicitant, sive quod honesta ac speciosa videantur, sive quod dulcia, sive alioquin utilia, cuius generis sunt, opes, claritas, dignitas, voluptas : ista quedam si habeas, aut certe in proclivi sit potiaris, eatenus dumtaxat, quatenus a virtute avocent, contemnere, res est forti proboque viro digna... Lacedemoniorum institutum Plato minus probat, quod cum durissimos labores facile contemnerent, contra voluptates non perinde exercitati viderentur ; at hii nostri Cathones, ad utrumvis femina quavis molliores, ad solas literas contemnendas viros se prebent...Chrysippi contemnunt acumen... Contemnunt veterum theologorum policiem, quam assequi desperant, et si sperent, tum magis insaniant. O contemptorum servum pecus : dic queso mihi, que nam ista nova magnanimitas ? Quod inauditum contemnendi genus ? ...Scorti molli suaviolo superaris Hercules, ducit te captivum puerilis voluptatula, rapit te quolibet assentatio, consternat conviciolum, et fortem te visum iri credis, si res maiores eciam quam ut assequi queas, possis contemnere ? ...**(p. 279)** Ubi summam mihi literaturam comparavero, tum demum incipiam cum laude contemnere, non quo minus utar, sed ne quid insolenter efficiam et cum omneis antecadam eruditione, antepo nam me nemini, ne stolidissimo quidem... Ita demum cum laude contempserimus, si non alienam, sed nostram doctrinam contemneremus : sic non erudicio modo verum etiam virtus ipsa contemnenda est, et post omnia contemptus etiam ipse contemnendus. Sic contempsit Augustinus ethnica disciplina, at tum posteaquam principatum esset in hiis assecutus. Sic literas Ciceronianas et Platonicas Hieronimus, ut nichilominus egregie teneat, et passim utatur...**(p. 280)**...nobis saltem tristes vigilas et insanos labores relinquant, quandoquidem istorum deliciis nichil invidemus...

This long passage est marked as an insertion because it interrupts the natural connection between the evocation of the barbarians to battle (pp. 274-5) and confirmation that they have indeed been provoked to battle (p. 280 ; see Appendix I). The references to Plautus, the Iliad, Plato's criticism of Sparta in The Laws and perhaps to Livy(Kumaniecki refers "nobili historico teste" to Liv. XXXIX 16,6) suggest a wider library than Erasmus is likely to have had access to at Steyn. The physician's question refers back to a passage (above no. 1) already dated ca. 1494.

3) (pp.280-2) Audistis Chrisippeum enthimema. Audistis syllogismum cornutum. Videtis quam captiosis laqueis vos simplices irretire moliantur. Enimvero helleboro illo Carneadeo opus esse intelligo. Quid dicitis Antichrysippi? continue ne malum et Christianis interdictum, quicquid ab ethnicis profectum erit? ...Scilicet igitur fabros per contionem admonendos censeo, ne post hec serris, securibus, asciis, terebellis, ne cuneis, ne regulis, ne perpendiculis, ne fornicibus, ne post hac amussibus suis audeant uti...(p. 281) Iam et agricolatoribus, vel cum vite periculo ferias indicendas video : aratrum Osiridis inventum est...Quod scribimus, quod utcunque[Hyma has "utrumque"] Latine loquimur ab ethnicis accepimus : ab illis reperti characteres, ab iisdem orationis usus inventus. Egone, inquiunt, damnatorum hominum libros in manu, in sinu habeo, lectitabo, venerabor? Ardet apud inferos Virgilius, et eius poemata cantat Christianus? quasi non et multi Christiani illic ardeant quorum si qua bene scripta supersunt, nemo tamen idcirco respuenda putet...Tum si coniecturas sequi velimus, facile convicero aut illos viros ex ethnicis, aut omnino nullos salvos esse : quam bene preceperint, non quam recte vixerint laboramus. (p. 282) Hypocritas magistratus, quorum vitam condemnat ipse qui novit, audiendos tamen iubet. Originis [libros] iam hereseos damnati, ut eruditionis fructum Christiana legit ecclesia, et eorum divina scripta fugimus, de quorum moribus sine summa temeritate iudicare non possit...Apage, inquiunt, ego me Ciceronianum aut Platonicum appellari feram, qui semel Christianus dici constitui? Quid ni monstrum hominis? Si te quod Sardanapali perditam molliciem imiteris, Sardanapalicum dicimus, aut quod assentator es, Gnathocinum, aut potius ut es stolidè gloriosus, Thrasonicum appellamus, cur alium Ciceronis linguam imitantem, Ciceronianum pudeat denominari. Tu tibi barbaras istas appellationes asciscas, teque vel Albertistam, ut Thomistam, vel Scotistam vocari gaudeas, dummodo a Christianis denomineris. Ego me a quovis ethnico denominari paciar, dummodo doctissimo, dummodo facundissimo : ne me huius professionis penitebit, modo me prestantiora doceat ethnicus, quam Christianus.

Sed ut rem aliquando finiamus...(see Appendix I, p. 282).

This passage is marked as an insertion because there is a hint of digression at the end ("ut rem aliquando finiamus") and because the

"barbarians" of p. 282 are different from those of p. 280: the barbarians of p. 280 (see Appendix I) would no more call themselves Aristotelians than Ciceronians, but on p. 282 the barbarians call themselves Albertists and Thomists. In the first case the enemies are those who reject logic as well as literature, in the second case the enemies are scholastics. Parts of the passage can be dated ca. 1494 because of "The hellebore of Carneades", which is mentioned also in the prologue from 1494, p. 254, and which reflects a reading of Diogenes Laertes' *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (Kumaniecki cites Erasmus' *Adagia*, *Leiden Opera*, II, 318A), and because the argument that writing is a legacy from the pagans was probably suggested by Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* (see below, no. 5). On the other hand, the following lines on p. 282 (see Appendix I) suggest that the discussion of the pagan origin of the useful arts was already a part of the original oratio.

4) (pp. 294-302) Hec qum Battus dixisset, Medicus iam dudum subridens... Quis, Batte, credidisset unquam te hominem tam poeticum tantum tenere theologie... Battus... Ego si theologus essem nichil a poete partibus prevaricarer. Antiquitus enim theologi habebantur qui poete, et ingenue fateor eloquentium theologorum scriptis, me non minus quam Ciceronianis delectari. Recentiorum vero tento quidem persepe ac mihi impero, sed vomitus oboritur legenti, adeo me tum barbaries orationis, tum perturbatio offendit... (p. 295) Sed pergam (si sinis) theologari... Age, respondit Medicus, percipio: sed te iam unde depuli in viam restituam. Hoc erat tuae disputationis extremum, ut charitatem cum eruditione copulandam esse diceres. [See Appendix II, no. 4 p. 294] Ipse quidem in ea prope sum opinione... verum... in nonnullos religiosos nonnumquam incido, qui sibi hoc constanter habent persuasum, non coherere cum pietate Christiana, literaturam secularem. Battus. Nec aberrant isti, inquit Battus, in ipsis enim male coheret... Medicus. Age, inquit medicus, scio tibi quidem cucullatos istos omnes invisos haberi... Video enim nonnullos ad Epicuream illam rationem proxime accedere, qui incredibili laborum fuga, ignaviam quandam et umbratilem vitam amplectuntur. Tutos se credunt si tanquam coclee intra testudines perpetuo delitescant, commodis corporum vel minutis morosius etiam consulentes: Abunde se religiosos arbitrantur, si literarum secularium nichil prorsus attingerint... Iam vero civibus suadere non desinunt, si liberos suos ad externas scholas (quas universitates vocant) ire sinant, perisse propemodum illos... Simplicitatem, nescio quam, illis predicant... (p. 296) Ita isti Cinici nostri universum genus hominum contemnunt, censent omnes. Moriendum est, inquirunt, omnibus... Battus. Per anserem homines pistrino digni, subiecit Battus. Quis istud ignorat, omnibus esse moriendum? ... Nonne recepta est calceolaria, sutrina, textrina, fabrica, sartoria, fullonia? ... Laudamus doctum pictorem,...

laudamus etiam si sit improbus...Et litteraturam, que ut bonam mentem non prestet, ad eam tamen non mediocriter conducit...(p. 297) *Medicus*. Tum medicus: Probabiliter tu quidem...verum ut interim tibi pro istis imperitiis admiratoribus respondeam...Quid igitur, inquiunt, tandem futurum est? Num soli literati celo potentur? ... Non hec est illa simplicitas, quam deus unice sibi delegisse videtur, qui asino vectus Iherosolimam ingredi voluit...*Battus*. Pape, tu me mediam in theologiam vocas...Hoc ad refellendum satis istas mysticas appellationes non ad scientiam sed ad mores esse referendas...(p. 298) Verum ut dolorem illorum placemus qui sese ob imperitiam extrudi putant,...Haud temere multis auctoribus video placuisse nobilem illam Hesiodi sententiam, tria hominum genera constituentis. Primum quidem eorum, quicquid rectum sit, ipsi per se intelligunt idemque sequuntur. Alterum eorum, qui per se quidem parum sapiunt, at sapientum monitis obsequuntur. Tercium ad nichil utile appellat horum, qui neque ipsi sapiunt neque credunt recta monenti...(p. 299)...Tum *Medicus*...Quid si literatus sis, et idem malus, quonam in genere te ponemus? *Battus*...Age et quartum istud tribus Hesiodi generibus addamus...Sed mane, (p. 300) iam quid paraveris, video: non igitur bona est eruditio, que malis contingat. Probe consequeretur, si malos facit, mala est...Statuamus, inquam, utrinque binos, hinc duos, alterum doctum et malum, alterum indoctum et item malum, uter alteri preferendus videtur? ... Certe uterque accusandus mihi videtur... At eruditio tametsi pravas cupiditates omnino non prohibet, temperet tamen necesse est. Fieri enim non potest, ut qui honesti et inhonesti discrimen scite intelligit, non aliquando et turpitudinem exhorrescat, et virtutis speciem admiretur. Preterea qui doctus est, vel simulat honestatem, quod est virtuti proximum, indoctus e viciis suis etiam sibi laudem pollicetur...non adferunt nequiciam literis, verum addite tanquam fax prelata, reddunt conspectiorem. Ut exempli causa, duos video adulteros, alterum celibem, coniugatum alterum: cum non dispar sit admissum, non par tamen culpa erit, nempe in coniugato turpior. Cur ita, an quia malum est coniugium? (p. 301) Minime quidem, verum quo res sanctior est coniugium, eo gravior est noxa illud adulterio temerare...In sacerdote gravioris est culpe stuprum, quam in layco, ergo ne malum sacerdocium? Quid ni? fecit nequiores, imo nil melius esset sacerdocium, non faceret hoc pacto nequiores...

Sed iam alteros duos componamus. Pone duos utrosque probos, at alterum rudem alterum literatum, uter utri anteponendus? ...nichil hesitavit Hieronimus, qui libere, et plenis (ut aiunt) buccis sancte rusticitati sanctam eruditionem anteposuit... Nolo hic invidiosam suscitare comparisonem, plus ne contulerit nostre religioni martyrum sanguis, an eruditorum hominum stilus? ...quantum ad nostrum attinet commodum, nonnullis etiam hereticis plus prope debemus, quam martyribus ipsis. Et martyrum quidem summa fuit copia, doctores perpauci...(p. 302) Quo magis nonnullos demirari compellor, qui prudentes etiam eruditionem se fugere fateantur..."

The first part of the conversation (pp. 294-5) can be dated with some assurance in 1494/5 because only Batt, and not Cornelius Gerard, would have to explain his knowledge of theology ; because Cornelius is not likely to have resented "all those cowed heads ;" and because the hostility to scholastic theology is related to a preference for "rhetorical" theology which is characteristic of Batt (cf. pp. 317-21 ; below, no. 7). The rest of the conversation in which the physician presents the arguments of the barbarians, hangs together as a coherent unity. It perhaps dates from an earlier version in which William Hermans argued with Cornelius (above, note 21). On the other hand two considerations point to a later date for the whole discussion between Batt and the physician. First, apart from this passage and pp. 323-31 (below, no. 8), all other interruptions of Batt's oration are brief and usually supportive : p. 271, Herasmus asks and receives permission (veniam) to interrupt occasionally ; p. 275, the physician takes advantage of Batt's permission ("Utar iure concessio, interpellabo") to remark that, in view of his stinging attack on the barbarians, Batt is justly called Batt ; p. 285, Herasmus expresses surprise that some men reject all learning in the name of religion ; p. 288, "Guielmus", after apologizing for interrupting("Dabis veniam si disputationis tue cursum paucis remorabor"), asks the question quoted above, page 3 ; p. 316, after Batt pauses to marvel at how long he has spoken, and surmises that his listeners must be tired, "Guielmus" urges him to continue and see "an tu nos prius dicendo, an nos te audiendo superemus" ; Erasmus was amazed at Batt's ability to cite church authors : "Desino enim iam mirari, quod Medicus dudum (p. 294), te hominem Musis penitus devotum, theologorum libros evoluisse." One may reasonably conclude that the two examples of substantive debate (pp. 294-301, 323-331) were added later than some of these others, perhaps after Gaguin's criticism. Secondly, the interruption by Hermans, p. 288, takes no account of the fact that Batt has already given (p. 271), and the physician has already adverted to (p. 275), explicit permission to interrupt him ; the one other case in which Hermans speaks, p. 316, likewise indicates a reluctance to interrupt. Hence the passages ascribed to the physician, an untroubled interruptor, seem to be of later date.

5) pp. 304-315

(p. 304 : for the context see Appendix I) ... Quid simplicem scripturam torquemus? quid invitam et reluctantem trahimus? Non hic de literis secularibus, sed de theologicis questiunculis agitur, quas nichil ad rem pertinentes, nonnumquam inter se pertinacissimis contentionibus agitant.

This section is marked as an insertion because the argument moves abruptly into another track. Previously (see Appendix I) the speaker had been contending that the scriptural passages in question were directed not against

learning in itself but against boastful learning ; now he says they are directed against theologians. On the assumption that similar phrasing stems from the same recension, this passage may be associated with p. 294, Appendix II, no. 4 : "Cur nos simplicem et castam scripturam ad nostra vicia trahimus ? "

Atque hoc quidem e scripturis, quas appellant canonicas, depromere solent : nunc pauca proferam, que de ceteris scriptoribus arma soleant mutuari : at ne iuxta Grecorum proverbium, harenas metiamur, plurimos repetendo, unius Gratiani meminisse sat fuerit, qui preter ceteros nos terrere poterat, si non auctoritate certe voluminis immanitate. Nuper igitur quum a scola Parrhisiorum in patriam reversus essem, incidit mihi cum quodam sacerdote concertatio, homine capitaliter nostris studiis infenso, alioquin humano... (p. 305) Accreverat mihi cum hoc Sardanapalo iam inde a puero coniunctior familiaritas... Consuevit mihi, comitorum militum more, sua iactare facinora, quot eadem in urbe haberet amicas, quoties et quibus artibus ad alienas uxores penetrasset... incidit inter prandendum, ut nescio quid amenius a poetarum fabulis proferrem. Ibi homo sui repente oblitus, novam quandam religionem cepit assumere... Miratus sum subitam hominis metamorphosim, ex Epicuro mihi factum Zenonem... Nunquam, inquit, in vita, nec attigi istos, nec attigero, sic mihi superi sint propicii... Sed quid tu illos tantopere fugis ? Nam si pudici sunt, non habent cur vitentur : sin impudici, quid ita fugitas eos qui eadem scribunt que tu facis... post spacium pomeridianum duxit me tanquam officiosus in bibliothecam publicam : ubi quum me videret homo Ciceronianis quibusdam dialogis (qui mihi forte in manus inciderant) attentius incumbere, tandem irritator, Gratianum, quem unum legebat, mihi obicit... (p. 306) Post multa congesta, ita suo more doctissime colligit Gratianus : ex quibus omnibus concluditur, quod non est ab ecclesiasticis secularium literarum querenda peritia... Non hic igitur in questionem vocatur, sit ne ecclesiasticis concessa erudicio secularis, sed an sit exigenda... (p. 307) Hinc igitur ad Anthoninam summam, ad Pisanam, ad Astexanam, ad Angelicam, ceterosque non auctores, sed congestores : omnes fere eandem cantilenam canunt, et cuculus cuculo succinit. Est enim huic scriptorum generi moris nichil suum ponere, sed diversorum dicta hinc inde decerpta congerere, non modo diversa, verum etiam aliquotiens inter se pugnantia : sat habent coaceruasse, ceterum iudicii onus lectori relinquentes... (p. 308) Hieronimum aperio, locum forte obvium ostendo, ubi de muliere captiva disputat [Ep. 70]... (p. 309) Horum (me legente) quum nihil ille intelligeret, rogabat et quorsum ista omnia spectarent. Eo, inquam, ut nullas ethnicas literas fugiamus sed repurgatas ad Christianorum eruditionem transferamus, quod si tu fecisses, non hic marmoreus astares... Mordax quidem illud, quo epistolam claudit, sed plane barbarorum stulticia dignissimum... Ostendi et eam prefationem quam Exodo preposuit, in qua adeo non dissimulat, et eciam nominatim predicet artes liberales... (p. 310) Non pudet, inquam, te Christianum obiicere Christiano, et quidem layco, quod

Hieronimus non dubitavit apud posteros gloriari vir ecclesiasticus, iam sanctitatis opinione celebris, postremo monachus...Ad cetera properabimus, si prius alterum testem citaverimus: nam decrevi contentus esse duobus, gravissimis tamen. [*“decrevi” implies a previous statement but there is none to this effect; perhaps Erasmus said in the original oratio that he would be content with two citations from Jerome, Letter 70 and the Preface to Exodus*] Aurelius Augustinus vir sanctimonia iuxta ac eruditione singularis, tum arcte adeo, ne dicam meticulose conscientie, ut sepe numero michi (bona venia tanti viri dixerim) ab re trepidare videatur, id quod tum ex eius vita tum ex confessionum retractationumque libris conicere proclive est. Is, inquam, talis vir, utique literaturam secularem, disuasisset, si aut noxiam, aut ociosam, aut suspectam habuisset. Hic in libris, quos de doctrina Christiana inscribit, proponit dua genera doctrinarum, que in gentibus etiam, inquit, moribus exercentur, id est ethnicorum, vel ut isti dicunt, secularium: unum earum quas instituerunt homines: alterum earum, quas animadvertunt, aut iam peractas aut divinitus institutas. Illud, inquit, quod est secundum institutiones, partim supersticiosum est, (p. 311) partim supersticiosum non est...Sub hoc ultimo genere, quod supersticiosum appellat, maleficia, incantationes...et id genus alia comprehendit...Sub altero genere, id est ab hominibus quidem instituto, minime tamen supersticioso, hec fere collocat, caracteres, vocabula rerum, consuetudinem loquendi, leges, plebescita...In primo genere, id est annotatis, omnes fere liberales disciplinas collocat...At ne de singulis quidem pigebit divi Aurelii sententiam pronuntiare, modo ne vos audire pigeat...

The citation from Jerome's Ep. 70, interpreting the taking of captive women by the Israelites as justification for the use of pagan learning by Christians, was no doubt part of the original oratio since Erasmus was compiling c. 1489 a list of citations from Jerome's Epistulae to refute the barbarians: Letter 22, l. 21-6, I, p. 103. But here it is woven into a refutation of Gratian, a theme which fits Batt's dislike of scholasticism and of "cowled heads": p. 307, "cowl sings to cowl", and which is introduced by a reference to Batt's studies in Paris. Since Erasmus is known to have pored over Augustine's works at the monastery of Groenendaal near Brussels "when as a young man he came from Brussels to visit" (Allen, I, p. 590), it has already been suggested that the passage citing Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana dates from c. 1494.

(p. 312)...Ceteras autem artes minutiores quidem illas, tamen acutas, ut Quintus Fabius oratori, ita Aurelius theologo putat non mediocriter conducere, et quidem de musica hec fere sunt que tenemus. Et numerum, inquit, et musicam plerisque in locis in scripturis honorabiliter positam invenimus...De arithmetica hoc est disputationis initium [*Hyma prints these words as a paragraph heading*]. Ast numerorum eciam, inquit, imperitia, multa facit non intelligi, translate ac mystice posita in scripturis. Omnes harum disputationum

ambages, que de geometria et astronomia in eundem fere modum disputat, parvi refert meminisse. Porro phisicen in primis ad sacrarum literarum cognitionem necessariam arbitratur... Porro de philosophis quid tandem, penes quos beate vite professio est, mirum an istos legendos negabit : qui cum se veri magistros omnium rerum profiteri sint ausi, omnium errorum auctores extiterunt, e quorum disciplinis nulla fere non heresis nata est, quorum contortis enthematibus quasi (p. 313) quibusdam arietibus Christiane fidei menia totiens sunt pulsata : audite quid et de hiis dicat vir equissimus. Philosophi autem, inquit, qui vocantur, si qua forte vera et fidei nostre accomodata dixerunt, et maxime Platonici non solum formidanda non sunt, sed ab eis tanquam iniustus possessoribus, in usum nostrum vindicanda. Et quod sequitur, non iniucundum de Egipcia sic suppellectile, utinam vobis verba ipsa possem annumerare, sed tamen bona cum fide appendam... Hic rursum ne nodum in scirpo querentes cavillari inciperemus, que sint ethnicis pro perniciosis relinquenda [p. 310 : in hiis libris, quos de doctrina Christiana inscribit, proponit dua genera doctrinarum...], Augustinus de sua partitione nichil excipit, preter ea que superstitiosa nominat... Vestes autem Egyptiorum interpretatur disciplinas a mortalibus quidem institutas, sed vestium in morem accomodatas humane societati...(p. 314)... Nonne aspicimus quanto argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Egypto Cyprianus... Ceterum sexcentos citare testes possem, ni et vestris parcerem auribus, et horum duorum auctorum ea esset auctoritas, ut tam sacris, tam eruditis viris nolle accedere summa sit impietas. Sed ita ab ethnicis abstinere barbari, ut nec hos quidem attingant, aut si tangunt contaminent. Immo quod indignius est, iam Hieronimum non in theologorum numero, sed oratorum ponunt non ob aliud nisi quia non intelligunt Scoticis commentis et Accursianis glosematis insensescunt, in quibus preter barbariem nichil mirantur. Nos cum tantos duces utcumque sequamur, veniant et apostolicum nobis illud cantitent, non altum sapientes scientia inflat. Si theologi videri cupiunt, quin illud potius proferunt : Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbe, non asini, tardi, inertes, ignavi... In eo libro qui dubio auctore Sapientia inscribitur quanta laus eruditionis (p. 315)... Sed nos ne in re tam clara, pro ipsa quidem nimio plus satis, pro istorum pertinacia parum, quanquam quid frustra rem infinitam prosequar, cum ex unoquoque auctore permulta loca depromi possint ? ... ac si a seculari doctrina nos conentur dehortari, et ita rhetorica contentione incandescant contra curiosam, superbam, ventosam, obstinatam, eruditionem... Quonam igitur ore a literis secularibus dehortentur, cum ipsi in ea dehortatione secularem literaturam exhibeant : sed vitiis nostris libenter blandimur.

This passage was clearly written at the same time as the preceding passage (pp. 310-12) because the defense of mathematics and other arts is taken from Augustine, and because there is a reference (p. 314) to the two authors (i.e. Jerome and Augustine) who have been cited. The jibe at the followers of

Accursius (p. 314) ties in with Batt's attack on Gratian ; and the description of dialectical as opposed to moral philosophy as the font of heresies (p. 313) is based not on the quote from Augustine which follows but on Batt's characteristic preference for a rhetorical theology.

6) (p. 318) Sed fingamus rusticos fuisse apostolos. Ita ne nichil in apostolorum moribus imitatione dignum isti videre potuerunt, preter unam rusticitatem ? ... Qui nobis apostolorum rusticitatem obgannire non desinunt, si virtutes tenerent apostolicas, ferri utcunque poterant, at nunc pudet me quorundam corruptissimam vitam cogitatione intueri. Qui cum ecclesiasticis sacris sint iniciati, ecclesiasticis stipibus alantur, adde senes, cani, rugosi, cum Sardanapalo ipso certamen sumpsisse videntur. Me hominem adolescentem, prophanum, civilibus addictum negociis, et literas ipsas seculares profitentem, in ius vocant, nephandi criminis reum agunt, quod antiquos philosophos, quod priskas historias, quod poetarum et oratorum scripta libenter lectitem. Ipsi quum iussi sint in lege domini, in sanctis literis die noctuque (p. 319) versari, ab omni prorsus studio se cohibent, religioso quodam opinor metu adducti, ne si libros tractare ceperint, in ethnicum aliquem auctorem imprudentes incidant... Ais rusticos et imperitos fuisse apostolos ? Esto sane...verum ubi simplicitas apostolica ? ubi mores ? Num quando venatos legisti apostolos ? num isto ornatu usos accepisti ? num pellacarum gregem domi aluerunt apostoli ? num tantum opum in unum baratrum demergebant apostoli ? Tu si superis placet, apostolos imitandi studio sumptibus ecclesiasticis edes regales in celum erigis. Nitet amplissima in domo, suppellex Attalica, ministris militaribus omnia perstrepunt, cene Persico instruuntur apparatu, videas illic agi Sibaritica convivia...

Noctes diesque estur, bibitur, luditur, saltatur, subatur, et quum vino immodico balbutire ceperint, videntur (opinor) sibi incultum sermonem apostolorum imitari. Cum hiis factis... audent nobis apostolos imitandos proponere. Nuper quum in Flandria legationem vestro nomine obirem, incidi in huiusmodi portenta convivia : ibi inter pocula, ut fit, quum hospitalitatem nobis suam iactaret, ut festiviore fabulatione convivium exhilarem, Tantali et Lycaonis et nonnullas fabulas commemoravi : rogabat me, ubi nam illa legerentur ? aio in poetis : oravit protinus, ne illos ethnicos ad suam mensem nonimarem...Aderat theologus quidam homo adolescens, sed plane doctus, nec ita ut hodie theologorum est vulgus, ut preter sophismata nichil didicerint, verum ita ut non minus rhetor est quam theologus. Cum hoc mihi (assidebat enim proximus) de scriptorum ecclesiasticorum eloquentia sermo inciderit, dicebamus Aurelium Augustinum acute quidem, sed obscure et suo quodam more dicere. Hieronimi vehementem esse dictionem, variam, vafram, acrem, locupletem...(p. 320) Bernardi orationem facetam, nec incultam, ecclesiasticam tamen...Bede equalem ac somniculosam... Recentiores theologos, ne loqui quidem. Hec et alia quedam cum nugaremur, risit nos homo severus ille, et curiosos appellavit, qui res ociosas et ad nichil utiles curaremus. Intellecta hominis improbitate, putavi malo nodo malum

querendum esse cuneum, ac de industria quidem eum sermonem inieci, in quo illum sciebam et plurimum valere, de vinorum generibus, de arte coquinaria, de venaticis epulis. Ibi ille (tanquam in re magna) erectus, magno silentio, magna autoritate diu disputavit acute, copiose, polite...hec nimirum sunt artes tetrice, et gravi sacerdote digne, has didicerunt ipsi, nobisque tradiderunt apostoli, non syllogismorum laqueosnectere, non Ciceronem, non Virgilium evolvere... Ferendum hoc quoque, si non inter epulas, senes, sola libidine fortes, antiqua sua flagicia iactarent invicem...Hii sunt quorum poetarum fabulas religiose refugiunt aures...(p. 321) Hec per digressum tangere volui, quo intelligatur, qui apostolorum imperitiam nobis ingerunt, eos non id apostolos emulandi studio facere, sed ut sunt superbi, sue rusticitatis patrocinium ab apostolis petere. Alioquin si id recte fit quod multorum fit exemplo, quot et quantos habemus quos imitemur? A Moyse repetamus, quid eo imperatore sanctius? at hic omnem Egyptiorum disciplinam a puero doctus legitur...

The passage that begins "Nuper quum in Flandria" (p. 319) is identified on p. 321 as a "digression". The mention of a mission to Flanders makes it plausible that the passage was indeed written with Batt in mind; hence it can serve to characterize Batt as the champion of a rhetorical, non-scholastic theology.

The previous passage ("Sed fingamus rusticos fuisse apostolos", p. 318) appears to be an insertion in the text because it grants, as a matter of little consequence, what was vigorously disputed in the paragraph immediately preceding (Appendix I, p. 317). The mention of a layman (prophanum) teaching secular letters again refers to Batt.

7) pp. 323-30 Cunctante paulisper Batto, consul: Per deum, inquit, immortalem, quid si et ego e consule philosophus fiam... Longis tu quidem ambagibus circumactus mihi videris, callido opinor consilio, ut apostolice interim simplicitatis oblivio nobis obreperet...Demus sane complures pios viros literatura gentili cum laude usos, attamen haud temere (ut reor) apostolos rudes... Subridens Battus...Egon apostolos imitari te veto?...(p. 324)...Tum consul. At tu, inquit, Batte, in ista disputatione, vehementi magis quam apta, bis mihi peccare videris: nam et de gentili literatura instituta erat disputatio, non divina, quam apostolos accepisse constat: et eam non humano studio, sed celesti munere sunt consequuti. *Battus*. Profecto tu istorum mentem pulchre tenes, istud enim ipsum ineptus aliquis theologus fuerat responsurus...Istis enim, inquiunt, celestis spiritus ministravit...(p. 325)...Quorsum autem attinent ludi litterarii, et quidem publici, quorsum tot sumptuose bibliothecae?...Sed statuamus oportet, utrum semel nobis omnia infundi iubeamus, an quotiens usus erit, totiens presto fieri spiritum malimus...Scribendus erit liber, advolet, ut nobis securis calamus regat. Habenda erit oratio, tum vero in columbe figura ad

aurem assideat, linguam ipse temperet, nos modo hiscere meminerimus, ut cum psalmographo rege canere liceat : Os meum aperui, et attraxi spiritum... (p. 326) *Consul*. Tum consul. Libet scolastico more tecum obiectiunculis agitari. Quid igitur sibi vult, quod Christus ipse sollicitos suos discipulos esse vetat, quid coram regibus atque presidibus essent dicturi ? ...*Battus*...Non igitur apostolos, ab eo quod prudentis hominis proprium videtur, detertere sed metum adimere studuit...Iubemur a deo panem quotidianum quotidie petere, et datur quidem quotidie, at nunquid oscitantibus? Vestitum petimus, prestatur, sed laborantibus... (p. 327)...Sed quam impium est velle manna illud de celo prestari...Dabunt igitur, sed laboranti... Nimirum in causa est, quod spiritus ille adorandus, non parem apud omnes eruditionem offendit. Auget enim ille, que nostra peperimus industria, promovet studia nostra, aspirat conatibus. Quod si fas est (p. 328) hoc loco poetarum fabulas admiscere, Prometheus est nobis imitandus : qui simulachro illi suo luteo, vitam ex astris ausus est petere, sed tum demum ibi quicquid humano artificio prestari potuit, adhibuisset. Nos rudem massam offerimus, et spiritum omnia nobis dormientibus confecturum speramus... *Consul*...e duobus, inquit, scrupulis, altero me propemodum liberasti, si hoc unum expedias, quod nemo barbarorum mihi non obiicit, divum Bernardum...fateri, se quercubus et fagis usum pro magistris. *Battus*. Sapientes profecto arbores...*Herasmus*. Inter hec cum Battus inardesceret, Guielmus meus aderat, Socratica quadam vafricie, festiva tamen magis quam mordaci, preditus. (p. 329) *Guielmus*. Age, inquit, ignosce Batte, fieri potest; qui scis enim an ex illa paradisiaci nemoris arbore fuerint propagate.. *Battus*. Ad que vix arridens Battus (erat enim commotior). Iure, inquit, ridetis in re risu potius quam argumentatione confutanda. Sed extra iocum miror Bernardum, si doceri cupiebat, ad arbores potius quam ad homines se contulisse, ac non Socratem potius illum Platonicum imitatum. Huic enim cum Phedrus... (p. 330) *Consul*...Perge, queso, consul inquit, me etiam altero levare scrupulo...nulli apostolorum spiritus celestis prophanas literas infudit...*Battus*... Nemini infudit, donemus istud, at cui unquam ademit ? ...Sed hos cum sua dementia relinquamus, quod reliquum est, de poetica et eloquentia disputetur.

The entire conversation between Batt and the burgomaster of Bergen is unified by the two questions raised ("bis mihi peccare videris", p. 324) : the second, concerning inspiration, is dealt with first and is completed when the burgomaster's objection about St. Bernard and the oak tree ("E duobus.. scrupulis, altero me propemodum levasti, si.." p. 328) is refuted ; the first concerning the distinction between religious and secular learning ("me etiam altero scrupulo levare", p. 330) is dealt with briefly. At the outset the burgomaster makes reference to the theme of Batt's unusual capacity in theology ("quid si et ego e consule philosophus fiam", p. 323). The word "scholastic" is used in the pejorative sense not found in the original oratio ("scolastico more", p. 326 ; see Appendix II, no. 4). Apart from the earlier conversation between Batt and the physician (Appendix III, no. 1 ;

pp. 294-303), this is the only interruption of Batt's speech which is of any length and in which substantive objections are raised against the speaker. Finally, the reference to the Phaedrus suggests reading that was probably not available to Erasmus in the cloister. Batt's reference to "quod reliquum est, de poetica et eloquentia disputetur" (p. 330) ties in with the announcement of a second book which apparently closed the original oratio : see Appendix I, pp. 330-1.

Karl Heinz Burmeister

JOHANNES PEDIONEUS RHETUS (ca. 1520-1550) BIOGRAPHIE - WERKVERZEICHNIS - BRIEFE

*Quod mors in corpus tenuit sua iura, quid obstat,
Ingenio haud potuit dura nocere tamen.
Vivat adhuc etenim celeberrima fama poetae,
Divini vivunt et monumenta viri!*¹

I. Teil : BIOGRAPHIE

Die Erforschung des Humanismus hat sich lange Zeit bevorzugt den grossen Persönlichkeiten gewidmet, die so sehr im Vordergrund gestanden sind, dass es weithin als ein vergebliches Bemühen angesehen wurde, sich mit den "kleineren" Humanisten zu beschäftigen. Der negative Erfolg einer solchen Einstellung ist heute ganz evident: über viele dieser kleineren Humanisten ist unser Wissen überaus unvollkommen. Das wenige, das bruchstückhaft bekannt ist, wird - aus dem Zusammenhang gerissen - oft noch verfälscht, so dass in der Sekundärliteratur nicht selten die gegensätzlichsten Behauptungen über das Leben und Wirken der kleineren Humanisten zu lesen sind.

Demgegenüber steht die Tatsache, dass in der Regel auch zur biographischen Erforschung der kleineren Humanisten ein reichhaltiges Quellenmaterial zur Verfügung steht, mag auch dessen Aktivierung sich wegen der oft weiten Verstreutheit der Quellen schwieriger gestalten. In jedem Falle ist es möglich die wichtigsten Lebensdaten zu erfassen und somit auch den kleineren Humanisten jene Darstellung zukommen zu lassen, die erforderlich ist, will man in Zukunft in ihren Namen mehr sehen als "Chiffren für Unbekannte".²

NAME UND HERKUNFT

Johannes Pedioneus wurde vermutlich um 1520 als Sohn eines Priesters in Triesen (Fürstentum Liechtenstein) geboren. Wir wissen, wie sehr Erasmus - gleichfalls Sohn eines Priesters - bestrebt gewesen ist, seine Jugendzeit zu verschleiern.³ Ähnliches beobachten wir auch bei Pedioneus: so wird

Graubünden⁴ und Tirol,⁵ Augsburg⁶ und Konstanz,⁷ Strassburg⁸ und Feldkirch⁹ als seine Heimat bezeichnet. Tatsächlich ist die Heimat des Pedioneus

.... *Alpinae confinia terrae,*
*Stagnat ubi angustis Rhenus contractior undis*¹⁰
*Rhenus ubi Helvetios flumine scindit agros.*¹¹
*Qua probe Rhenano nostrates flumine terra*¹²
Distant Helvetia.

irgendwo im heutigen Fürstentum Liechtenstein, am ehesten in Triesen zu suchen. Die Argumente für diese These wurden an anderer Stelle ausführlich dargelegt.¹³ Neben der oben angeführten Landschaftsschilderung spricht insbesondere der Name Pedioneus für diese These, der sich vom griechischen *παῖδλον* ableitet und "Kindlein" (alemannisch "Kindle") bedeutet;¹⁴ dieser Name (Kindle) ist im Fürstentum Liechtenstein noch heute verbreitet. Zudem wirkte von 1505 bis 1521 in Triesen ein Kaplan namens Johannes Kindlein.¹⁵ Dieser ist 1501 in der Matrikel von Leipzig als Johannes Kyndeleyne de Feltkirchen eingetragen, wo er 1503 baccalaureus artium wurde. Hier liegt der Herkunftsbezeichnung Feldkirch die Gewohnheit zugrunde, die nächstliegende grössere Stadt zu nennen; und so wird auch Pedioneus in einem Gedicht von Kaspar Brusch (1518 - 1559) über die Humanisten, die aus Feldkirch hervorgegangen sind, als Feldkircher bezeichnet.

Hinc Pedionaeus vates clarissimus ille :
Qui canit hoc regum Martia facta die :
Quique oratores nuper celebravit amoeno
Carmine : sacrificio de genitore satus.
Illic vina tuus mihi Mardeccensia frater
*Degustanda, simul Massica vina dedit.*¹⁶

Noch etwas kommt hinzu: der Grossvater des Pedioneus muss irgendeine Funktion im Rechtsleben¹⁷ ausgeübt haben:

Heic quoque tecta iacent venerandi encomia juris,
*Quae quondam servavit avus*¹⁸

Ein Hans Kindle wird 1460 in Triesen urkundlich erwähnt in einem Streit unter den Geschworenen.¹⁹ Dass drei Generationen den Vornamen "Hans" führen, mag als ein weiteres Argument für die hier vertretene These in Anspruch genommen werden.

FELDKIRCH

Die Anfänge des Pedioneus lassen sich in den Quellen nur sehr schwer greifen. Vermutlich ist Johannes Pedioneus um das Jahr 1520 geboren. Er dürfte dann die seit 1416 nachweisbare Lateinschule in Feldkirch besucht haben, wo ihm die

bildungsmässigen Voraussetzungen für das Hochschulstudium vermittelt wurden.

ITALIEN

Dem Beispiel zahlreicher anderer Studenten seiner Zeit folgend zog Pedioneus zum Studium nach Italien.²⁰ Der Zeitpunkt dieses Italienaufenthaltes lässt sich nur erschliessen. Pedioneus berichtet²¹ darüber im Juli 1542. Danach fällt die Rückkehr des Pedioneus in die herbstliche Jahreszeit :

.... *gravidis impendent vitibus uvae*
Ipse ego per summas aeterni frigoris Alpes.

Da Pedioneus im Herbst 1541 in Basel nachweisbar ist, kann für seine Rückkehr aus Italien nur der Herbst 1540 in Frage kommen. Genaueres über den Studienort (oder die Studienorte) ist nichts bekannt ; immerhin lässt das dichterische Werk des Pedioneus erkennen, dass er sich intensiv mit den zeitgenössischen italienischen Dichtern und Humanisten befasst hat : Caspar Contarenus (1483 - 1542), Hieronymus Aleander (1480 - 1542), Petrus Bembo (1470 - 1547), Jacobus Sadoletus (1477 - 1547), Andreas Alciat (1492 - 1550) und Hieronymus Vida (1470 - 1566).

Im einzelnen bleibt hier vorläufig noch vieles unklar. Erst bei seiner Rückkehr aus Italien in die Heimat können wir Pedioneus greifen. Bei dem herbstlichen Übergang über den Arlbergpass erlitt Pedioneus schwere Erfrierungen an den Gliedern, die ihm noch Jahre lang zu schaffen machten. Die Erfrierungen zwangen Pedioneus, den Winter in seiner Heimat zu verbringen.

BASEL

Neues Unglück schreckte ihn dort auf, als er im Frühjahr 1541 von dem siegreichen Vordringen der Türken in Ungarn erfuhr. Ofen fiel in türkische Hände ; zahlreiche Landleute, die im kaiserlichen Heer kämpften, fanden den Tod :

Pannoniae ad fines et fusos milite Rhoetos
Plangitur, et lachrymas iam locus omnis habet.
Et modo in amplexus veluti ruitura mariti
Opposita extincti foemina caede viri .
Hicque perit patrio confectus funere natus
*Ille perit nati conditione pater.*²²

Pedioneus verlässt seine Heimat und zieht nach Basel, wo er Ende Juni 1541 eintrifft. Auffälligerweise lässt sich Pedioneus dort nicht in die Matrikel der Universität einschreiben. Obwohl Pedioneus sicher auch Vorlesungen an der Universität hörte, besuchte er in erster Linie die Knabenschule im ehemaligen Dominikanerkloster, wo seit 1533 ein unentgeltliches Konvikt mit Unterricht für

junge Studenten bestand.²³ Hier trat Pedioneus in freundschaftliche Verbindung mit Hieronymus Gunz (+ 1552) aus Biberach, dem ehemaligen Famulus Ulrich Zwinglis, der seit 1536 an der genannten Schule als Ludimagister und zugleich als Bibliothekar wirkte.²⁴ Pedioneus, der auch in Basel im Hause des Hieronymus Gunz eine Bleibe gefunden hatte, bringt seine Verehrung für seinen Lehrer besonders zum Ausdruck in dem Dedikationsgedicht seines Epicedions auf Simon Grynaeus :

*Amico et amicissimo
Charoque docto Guntio.
Quem non secus vel ac meos
Oculos, animum et meum caput
Amavi in usque istum diem
Amabo et usque postea
Quoad ista stabunt tempora.*²⁵

Gunz war es auch gewesen, der Pedioneus zu seinem ersten (uns erhaltenen) dichterischen Werk aufgefordert hatte : das im August 1541 entstandene *In Anonymum quendam Philopseudem Epigramma*. Dieses 42 Hexameter umfassende Gedicht gegen die Verleumder des Erasmus ist zusammen mit einem Distichon des Pedioneus an Johannes Herold²⁶ (1511 - 1568) und einem 15 Hexameter umfassenden Epigramm an den Leser sowie Versen von Gunz der *Philopseudes sive Pro Des. Erasmo Roterodamo declamatio* des Johannes Herold vorangestellt ; das Buch ist 1542 in Basel bei Robert Winter²⁷ (+ 1553/54), ebenso wie das Epicedion des Pedioneus, erschienen, der seit 1538 zu Gunz Beziehungen unterhielt und in dessen Offizin Gunz Korrektor war. Pedioneus und Herold begegnen uns als zwei Freunde, denen Hieronymus Gunz durch die Vermittlung an Robert Winter den Weg in die Basler Druckerwelt geebnet hat, was sie beide zu überschwenglichen Dankesbeteuerungen gegenüber Gunz und Winter veranlasst hat.²⁸

Pedioneus hat mit seinen Gedichten im Schatten des ebenfalls jugendlichen Johannes Herold den Einstieg in die Basler Gelehrtenwelt versucht. Somit gilt auch für Pedioneus, was Andreas Burckhardt zu Johannes Herold gut beobachtet hat : "Mit dem ganzen Feuereifer eines ehrgeizigen jungen Literaten ergriff er die Gelegenheit, öffentlich aufzutreten und vor einem illustren Auditorium über Erasmus zu reden. Die Begeisterung und die Beflissenheit, mit welcher Herold sich seiner Aufgabe entledigt hat, spricht aus jeder Zeile der ausführlichen, präziös gedrechselten Rede."²⁹ Die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Pedioneus und Herold zeigt sich auch im Epicedion auf Grynaeus.³⁰

Der zweite bedeutende Lehrer des Pedioneus war Simon Grynaeus (1493 - 1541), der bekannte Gräzist der Universität Basel und Rektor des Jahres 1540/41. Er wurde am 1. August 1541 ein Opfer der verheerenden Pest, die 1541/42 ganz Süddeutschland heimsuchte. Grynaeus hatte Pedioneus in die Schule "auf Burg" zu Ulrich Hugualdus (1496 - 1571) geschickt, "um sein Ingenium zu erkundigen".³¹ Für die Universität bedeutete der Tod des

Grynaeus einen schweren Verlust, der dem Tode des Erasmus 1536 nicht nachstand. Das *Epicedion* auf Grynaeus, eine Sammlung verschiedener Trauergedichte und Epitaphien, das Pedioneus in Verbindung mit seinen Freunden herausgab, liegt also ganz in der Richtung des Philipseudes von Johannes Herold. Das Büchlein bot dem jungen und ehrgeizigen Dichter die Möglichkeit, sich einen Namen zu machen; das muss durchaus nicht im Widerspruch dazu stehen, dass Pedioneus sein *Epicedion* "*gratitudinis ergo*" herausgegeben hat.

Der Mitarbeiterkreis des Pedioneus führt uns noch einmal zu Herold. Dieser stammte aus Höchstädt an der Donau. Es war wohl Herold, der Pedioneus mit einem Kreise Augsburger Studenten zusammengebracht hat: Johannes Paedoraus vulgo Metzberger³², Paul Haintzel³³ und Johann Baptist Schenck³⁴, die sich 1540/41 gemeinsam in Basel immatrikuliert hatten. Alle drei haben Epitaphien auf Grynaeus für das *Epicedion* des Pedioneus verfasst.

Pedioneus selbst hat mehrere Trauergedichte und Epitaphien zu seiner Schrift beige-steuert, von denen eines seinen Basler Lehrern gewidmet ist: dem Juristen Bonifaz Amerbach (1415 - 1562), den Theologen Oswald Mykonius (1488 - 1552), Andreas Karlstadt (1480 - 1541), Markus Bertschi (1483 - 1566) und Johannes Gast (+ 1552), dem Mediziner Hieronymus Artolphus (+ 1541) und den Philologen Johannes Hospinian (1515 - 1575), Johannes Oporin (1507 - 1568), Nikolaus Megander (+ 1555/56) und Thomas Grynaeus (1512 - 1564) sowie Gunz und Hugualdus.

Es ist wiederum kein Zufall, dass der einflussreiche Jurist und mehrfache Rektor der Universität Basel Bonifaz Amerbach an der Spitze dieses Kataloges steht. Amerbach war als der Verwalter der Erasmusstiftung bereits der Protektor von Herold und Pedioneus bei ihrem Philipseudes gewesen. Pedioneus, der von Hause aus sehr arm gewesen ist, war darauf angewiesen, einen Mäzen für seine Studien und Dichtungen zu finden. Die Rechnungen der Erasmusstiftung zeigen nun, dass Pedioneus tatsächlich mehrfach solche Stipendien erhalten hat, die von Amerbach gewährt und von Hieronymus Gunz vermittelt waren. Vom 24. September 1541 ist die folgende Aufzeichnung Amerbachs: "Hat Hieronymus Guntius mir brocht ein carmen a Joanne Pedioneo, darby mich gebeten, ihm viaticum ze stüren, darmit er heim kommen mag und angesehen, dass er ein zierlich gut carmen schript und ze verhoffen, dass etwas recht sinnigs uss im werd, hab ich Guntio geben 3 dickpfennig zu überantwurten."³⁵

Dieses Gedicht des Pedioneus in 47 Hexametern ist noch erhalten.³⁶ Pedioneus dankt darin für die ihm erwiesenen Wohltaten und kündigt an, dass er in die Heimat zurückkehren wolle. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die Pest, der nicht nur Grynaeus, sondern auch Artolphus und Karlstadt zum Opfer fielen, Pedioneus veranlasst hat, Basel vorübergehend zu verlassen. Schon bald aber ist Pedioneus wieder nach Basel zurückgekehrt.

Denn am 18. Januar 1542 erschien Pedioneus abermals bei Amerbach, diesmal mit einem Beileidsgedicht zum Tode von Amerbachs Frau Martha Fuchs.³⁷ "Ist Joannes Pedioneus abermols wieder herkommen, mir ein carmen consolatorium

zugeschickt und hilff begert. Hab us dem gelt geben 1 fl.”.³⁸ Bald darauf scheint Pedioneus Basel endgültig verlassen zu haben, um sich zunächst wieder in seine Heimat zu begeben. Auf dem Wege nach Hause stattete Pedioneus dem St. Galler Humanisten Joachim Vadian (1484 - 1551) einen Besuch ab, um ihm ein Exemplar seines *Epicedions* zu überreichen. Dieses Buch mit einer eigenhändigen Widmung des Pedioneus an Vadian wird noch heute in der Stadtbibliothek in St. Gallen aufbewahrt.³⁹

Während seines Aufenthaltes in der Heimat scheint Pedioneus auch seiner alten Lateinschule in Feldkirch einen Besuch abgestattet zu haben. Der Lateinschulmeister Johannes Vogelsang schickte sich gerade an, sein musiktheoretisches Werk *Musicae Rudimenta* (Augsburg 1542) im Druck herauszugeben. Pedioneus verfasste für das Titelblatt dieses Buches einige Verse an die jungen Lateinschüler :

*Qui cupis in teneris statim perdiscere cantum
Annis, haec Musae prima elementa para ;
Quae tibi, cui nomen cantus foecere volucrum,
Succincto tradit colligit atque libro.*⁴⁰

MAINZ

Pedioneus machte sich dann auf den Weg nach Löwen, um dort sein Studium fortzusetzen.⁴¹ Nicht nur der Namen des Erasmus, sondern auch des Juan Luis Vives (1493 - 1540), den er einmal in einem Gedicht apostrophiert,⁴² mochte Pedioneus mit der berühmten niederländischen Universitätsstadt verbinden. Doch Pedioneus wurde abermals krank und konnte seine Pläne nicht verwirklichen.

So kam Pedioneus nach Mainz, *aureas illas Germaniae delitias*, wo er in dem Domherrn Veit von Liebenstein und in dem Bischof von Naumburg Julius Pflug (+ 1564) liebevolle Förderer fand. Hier in Mainz verfasste Pedioneus im Juli 1542 seinen *Iter Nemetum*, ein Gedicht aus 156 Hexametern, das er Julius Pflug widmete.⁴³ An dieses Gedicht schliesst sich ein Epigramm von 12 Distichen *Ad Fortunam Rhamnusiam satis adversam* an, dessen Verfasser als *Pedion. Rh. P.L.* angegeben wird, also *Pedioneus Rhetus Poeta Laureatus*. Es ist dies der erste Hinweis auf den von Pedioneus später geführten Titel eines gekrönten Dichters. Über die Dichterkrönung selbst ist jedoch nichts bekannt.⁴⁴ Pedioneus erwähnt wohl, dass er in Speyer war, wo 1542 ein Reichstag stattgefunden hat. Es ist aber nicht notwendig, dass Pedioneus vom Kaiser selbst gekrönt worden ist. So hatte etwa Heinrich Glarean 1544 mit der Dichterkrönung das Privileg erhalten, selbst drei Dichter zu krönen.⁴⁵ In jedem Fall dürfen wir annehmen, dass Pedioneus im Jahre 1542 den Dichterlorbeer erhalten hat.

Blicken wir zurück, so ist das dichterische Werk des Pedioneus bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt recht klein und unbeachtlich. Die Gedichte auf Erasmus und Grynaeus verherrlichten zwar zwei bedeutende Gelehrte, das *Epicedion* wurde

sogar in Gesners *Bibliotheca universalis* aufgenommen ; aber die Gedichte an Amerbach und Pflug waren ganz privater Natur, so dass ihnen kaum eine grössere Beachtung zukommen konnte. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass Pedioneus die Auszeichnung für Werke verliehen worden ist, die wir bis jetzt noch nicht kennen.

SCHLÜCHTERN

Im Jahre 1543, als unter Abt Peter Lotichius d. Ä. (1501 - 1567) das Kloster Schlüchtern zu einer Lateinschule reformiert worden war, wurde der fahrende Dichter Pedioneus für einige Zeit an dieser Schule angestellt.⁴⁶ Obwohl Pedioneus nur kurze Zeit in Schlüchtern unterrichtet hat, konnte er doch hier auf die Entwicklung einiger bedeutender Schüler Einfluss nehmen, insbesondere auf Michael Beuther (1522 - 1587), der 1546 Professor für Poetik in Greifswald und später Professor für Geschichte in Strassburg wurde, und auf den Dichter Peter Lotichius d. J. (1528 - 1560). Michael Beuther, der durch seine Übersetzung des "Reineke de Vos" ins Hochdeutsche bekannt ist, hat in einem Epigramm an Pedioneus die deutschen Dichter Eoban Hessus (1488 - 1540), Ulrich von Hutten (1488 - 1523) und Konrad Celtis (1459 - 1508) verherrlicht und sie den lateinischen Klassikern gleichgestellt,⁴⁷ ein Motiv, das wir auch bei Pedioneus häufiger finden. In seiner *Elegia in funere L. Brassicani* erwähnt auch Pedioneus in einem Zuge Eoban Hessus und Hutten :

*Hic Eobanus, et Hutteni pallentis imago,
Pro patriae visus qui sibi laude rapi.
Ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus ausis
Aonio referunt carmina grata choro.*⁴⁸

Die geistige Nähe Ulrich von Huttens mochte Pedioneus gerade hier in Schlüchtern besonders empfinden, in dessen nächster Nachbarschaft die Burgruine Steckelberg liegt, wo Hutten geboren ist. Ebenso nahe war mit Erfurt die geistige Nähe des Eobanus Hessus, den Pedioneus einen *vir immortalitate dignus* nennt.⁴⁹

Pedioneus hat bereits sehr früh die Begabung des Lotichius Secundus erkannt.⁵⁰ Er bezeichnet Lotichius als *cum ad poetarum studia, tum eloquentiae natum atque dispositum*.⁵¹ Und weiter wendet er sich an Lotichius : *Excitabo te, uti illa ipsa via, quam me auctore suscepisti, discendi veram eloquentiam atque optimas artes eo summum laudis nomen atque fastigium nostris hominibus pervenisse videaris*. Lotichius habe, schreibt Pedioneus weiter, die natürliche Anlage, die Kraft und Stärke einer glücklichen Begabung, dass ihm nichts unerreichbar sei. Ein Vorbild solle sich Lotichius bei Cicero nehmen. *Hunc unum imiteris atque effingas, a quo maximos speres studii tui fructus*. Wie ein Kind seinem Vater in allem nachzukommen trachtet, so soll Lotichius die Sprache Ciceros nachahmen, *eum unum admirere, diligas, amplectare, denique et*

exprimendo similitudinem aliquam non quidem ut simius hominis, sed ut filius patris assequare.

Michael Beuther zog bald nach der Ankunft des Pedioneus nach Marburg zu Johannes Draconites (1494 - 1566), Lotichius nach Frankfurt zu Jakob Micyllus (1503 - 1558). Da Pedioneus jedoch mit beiden in Verbindung blieb, kam er über diese seine Schüler auch mit dem Wittenberger Dichterkreis in Berührung, den er in einer späteren Elegie charakterisiert hat : Georg Sabinus (1508 - 1560), Johannes Stigel (1515 - 1562), Melchior Acontius (1515 - 1569) und Micyllus.⁵²

HEIDELBERG

Am 23. Juni 1544 tauchte Pedioneus in Heidelberg auf, wo er sich als *Joannes Pedioneus Rhetus, poeta laureatus* in die Matrikel der Universität einschreiben liess.⁵³ Die übliche Immatrikulationsgebühr wurde von ihm nicht eingefordert, so dass man annehmen kann, dass Pedioneus irgendeinen Lehrauftrag übernommen hat. Obwohl er offenbar nie ein Universitätsexamen gemacht hat, war er als *poeta laureatus* doch wenigstens einem *magister artium* gleich. Im übrigen ist der Name des Pedioneus in den Akten der Universität sonst nicht zu finden. Auch Heidelberg war nur eine Station auf der Wanderschaft des Pedioneus, die ihn vielleicht auch noch in zahlreiche andere Städte geführt hat, ehe er sich 1545 in Ingolstadt niedergelassen hat.

INGOLSTADT

Am 2. Oktober 1545 liess sich *Johannes Pedioneus orator et poeta laureatus* in die Matrikel der Universität Ingolstadt eintragen.⁵⁴ Wie im Jahr zuvor in Heidelberg, hatte er auch diesmal keine Gebühr zu zahlen, die die Eintragung im Zusammenhang mit der Übernahme eines Lehrstuhles für Poetik und Rhetorik stellt.

Ingolstadt zählte zu dieser Zeit mehrere Lehrstühle für Rhetorik und Poetik. Es ging dies auf eine Anregung des grossen niederländischen Juristen Viglius van Aytta van Zwichem (1507 - 1577) zurück, der seit 1538 wiederholt beim Senat darauf gedrängt hatte, drei oder vier hervorragende Vertreter der Rhetorik und Poesie anzustellen.⁵⁵ So wurden nacheinander 1542 Johannes Lorichius (+ 1569), 1543 Vitus Amerbach (1503 - 1557) und 1545 Pedioneus auf diese Lehrstühle verpflichtet.⁵⁶ Wenn wir also später Pedioneus besonders häufig im Kreise von Juristen finden, so ist dies kein Zufall : Pedioneus wird zu einem wichtigen Mitarbeiter bei der Umgestaltung der Jurisprudenz im Sinne des Humanismus, zu deren bedeutendsten Verfechter auch Viglius van Aytta van Zwichem gehörte.⁵⁷

Über die Aufgaben des Orators enthält die *Ordinatio* von 1539 folgende Bestimmungen : *Oratoriae professor pro dimidia hora Ciceronis opera exponat, pro altera parte difficiliora grammaticae explanet, et ad minus semel in hebdomada repetat ; praeterea argumenta epistolarum singulis quindenis*

*proponat certo auditorum numero.*⁵⁸

Cicero, über den Pedioneus auch 1548 vor einem grossen Auditorium in der Universität Ingolstadt eine öffentliche Rede hielt,⁵⁹ war somit der Hauptgegenstand seiner Vorlesungen :

*Ille Arpinatem retulit sermone soluto
Sublimem cultu carmine Virgilium.*⁶⁰

Was Cicero auf dem Gebiete der Rhetorik war, das war Vergil im Bereiche der Poesie, die Pedioneus ebenfalls vertreten hat. Ein Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Universität Ingolstadt aus dem Jahre 1548 hält fest : *Dominus Iohannes Pedioneus Constantinus orator et poeta laureatus poeticae praelectioni praeest. Et qui Vergilium hoc tempore summa facundia et industria publice praelegit.*⁶¹

DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS

Neben seiner Lehrtätigkeit entfaltete Pedioneus weiterhin eine reiche schriftstellerische Tätigkeit. Als 1546 ein Reichstag in Regensburg zusammenkam, eilte auch Pedioneus dorthin, wo er viele alte Bekannte wiedertraf und neue Bekanntschaften schliessen konnte. Pedioneus begegnete seinem alten Gönner Julius Pflug wieder, dem er kurze Zeit darauf ein Epigramm widmete :⁶²

*Iuli nobilium decus immortale virorum,
O animi columen praesidiumque mei.
Si quid in his faciam, quaeris, modo finibus Istri ?
Sollicito Aeonides nocte dieque deas.
Deditus ingenuis studiis, quibus ante solebam,
Nunc alio atque alio carmina scribo modo.*

Auch einigen anderen seiner Regensburger Bekanntschaften widmete Pedioneus Gedichte : dem königlichen Rat Adam Carolus (+ 1549) einen *Elegienanhang* zu seinem Werk *De claris oratoribus*⁶³, eine Elegie mit dem Titel *Calendae Ianuariae* dem Edlen Haubold von Breitenbach⁶⁴ und eine Elegie dem kaiserlichen (militärischen) Statthalter in Regensburg Georg Loxanus (+ 1554)⁶⁵. Loxanus muss Pedioneus besonders nahegestanden sein ; denn er widmete ihm wenig später eine seiner Oden⁶⁶ und eine weitere Elegie⁶⁷ auf den Tod des Wiener Juristen Johann Ludwig Brassicanus (1509 - 1549), den Pedioneus vielleicht ebenfalls im Kreise des Loxanus in Regensburg kennen gelernt hat ; dessen Bruder Johann Alexander Brassicanus (1500 - 1539) gehört zu den bedeutenderen Vertretern der neulateinischen Dichter.⁶⁸ Georg Loxanus wurde später Vizekanzler von Böhmen ; er war mit Katharina Adler, einer Tante der Philippine Welser, verheiratet.⁶⁹ In Regensburg spielte er eine Rolle im Zuge der Gegenreformation, wo er unter dem Eindruck der Predigten des Augustinermönches Johannes Hoffmeister sich um die Anstellung eines katholischen Predigers bemühte.⁷⁰

Als besonders fruchtbar erwiesen sich die freundschaftlichen Beziehungen, die Pedioneus seit dem Regensburger Reichstag mit dem Ingolstädter Juristen Wolfgang Hunger (1511 - 1555) unterhielt. Dieser, selbst ein Schüler des grossen Freiburger Humanisten und Juristen Ulrich Zasius (1461 - 1535), stellte seine Arbeitskraft zu einem guten Teil in den Dienst der humanistischen Reformbestrebungen der Jurisprudenz.⁷¹ Dass Hunger auch der Dichtkunst ein besonderes Interesse entgegenbrachte, beweist seine deutsche Übersetzung⁷² der *Emblemata* des italienischen Juristen Andreas Alciat (1492 - 1550), der mit Zasius und dem Franzosen Guillaume Budé das Dreigestirn der humanistischen Jurisprudenz bildete. Es ist somit kein Zufall, wenn Pedioneus in einer Elegia Alciat, Zasius und Budé in der Gesellschaft des Erasmus aufführt.⁷³

Ein Gespräch über die berühmtesten Redner seit der Antike, das er mit Wolfgang Hunger führte, veranlasste Pedioneus zu seiner Schrift: *De claris oratoribus*. Die Arbeit ist in zwei Bücher eingeteilt, von denen das 1. Buch die griechischen Redner (Odysseus, Nestor, Menelaus, Cassandra usw.), das 2. Buch die Römer (L. Iunius Brutus, L. Valerius Publicola, Ap. Claudius Caecus, C. Fabritius usw.) behandelt, und zwar durchweg in Versform (Distichen). Die Hauptquelle bilden Plutarch und Cicero. Als ein wichtiges Ziel seiner Arbeit stellt Pedioneus heraus, die vernachlässigte Redekunst bei den Juristen zu fördern, weshalb er sich nicht nur Wolfgang Hunger, sondern auch dessen berühmteren Kollegen Nikolaus Everard (1495 - 1570) empfiehlt, der Rektor des Sommersemesters 1546 war und gleichfalls der humanistischen Reformbewegung der Jurisprudenz anhing. Hatten Laurentius Valla (1415 - 1465) und noch Heinrich Bebel (1472 - 1518) mit ihrer Polemik gegen die barbarische Sprache der Juristen die Jurisprudenz herabzusetzen versucht⁷⁴, so tritt uns hier bei Pedioneus eine aufbauende Kritik entgegen, die eher eine Aussicht auf einen praktischen Erfolg hatte.

DE BELLO GERMANICO

Der Sieg Kaiser Karls V. über die Schmalkaldner hatte die Verhältnisse in Deutschland entscheidend zugunsten der katholischen Partei verändert.⁷⁵ Der Reichstag von 1547/48, der die politischen Konsequenzen aus diesem militärischen Erfolg ziehen sollte, brachte eine grosse Versammlung aller Stände nach Augsburg.⁷⁶

Huc iter, huc tibi cursus erit, nam plurima cernes.

Dieser Aufforderung, nach Augsburg zu gehen, die ein Traumbild an den schlafenden Pedioneus richtet, kommt der Dichter nach, wie er uns in seinem Gedicht *Domus Becciana* an den Augsburger Patrizier Leonhard Beck von Beckenstein schildert.⁷⁷

Pedioneus, der durch die vielfältigen Verbindungen, wie sie der Reichstag von 1546 offenbar gemacht hatte, eher dem Kaiserlichen zugetan war, hatte es sich nicht nehmen lassen, in einem langen Gedicht von fast 1000 Hexametern unter

dem Titel *De bello Germanico* den Sieg des Kaisers zu verherrlichen.⁷⁸

Das Werk war ursprünglich auf einen Umfang von drei Büchern geplant, doch ist nur das erste Buch bekannt. Dieses Buch ist Johann Jakob Fugger (1516 - 1575) gewidmet, der selbst eine Geschichte des schmalkaldischen Krieges verfasst hat.⁷⁹ Hätten die Augsburger auf Fuggers Mahnungen gehört, so wäre ihnen viel Unglück erspart geblieben. Nicht weniger werden Anton Fugger (1493 - 1560), der Oheim des Johann Jakob, und Raimund Fugger (1489 - 1535), sein Vater, mit Lob bedacht. Die Fugger werden als Mäzene Deutschlands mit den Medici in Italien verglichen. Schliesslich entschuldigt sich Pedioneus dafür, dass er lediglich einen Teil seines Werkes vorgelegt, mit einem bezeichnenden Vergleich: *Summos poetas Romanorumque omnium facile principes Virgilium, Lucretium et Horatium singulos quosque libros recitasse constat.*

Vergil, mit dem Pedioneus sich hier gleichsetzt, ist überhaupt in jeder Beziehung das Vorbild für seine Dichtung. Von ihm hat Pedioneus insbesondere eine Fülle von mythologischen Szenen übernommen, die er seinem Werk einverleibte. Die übermässige Verwendung der heidnischen Mythologie und die Nachahmung des Vergil sind die Hauptvorwürfe, die die Kritiker bis in unsere Zeit gegen das Werk des Pedioneus erhoben haben.⁸⁰

Bei den herrschenden politischen Gegensätzen konnte das Werk des Pedioneus selbstverständlich nicht ohne Kritik bleiben. Der der protestantischen Partei angehörende Graf Wolrad von Waldeck vermerkte in seinem Tagebuch, dass dem Pedioneus von den Augsburgern Undankbarkeit vorgeworfen wurde.⁸¹ Das lässt darauf schliessen, dass eine grössere Zahl der vorwiegend protestantischen Augsburger Bürger empört über das Werk des Pedioneus gewesen ist.

Einer von ihnen, der Stadtschreiber Georg Frölich (+ 1575), machte seinem Ärger Luft. Er verfasste eine Beschreibung des schmalkaldischen Krieges, die sich auf auffallend wenig Quellen (Luis de Avila, Nikolaus Mameranus) stützt, es aber nicht versäumte, das Werk des Pedioneus zu verspotten.⁸² Die Schrift des Georg Frölich blieb jedoch ungedruckt, weil es kein Drucker wagte, sie bei den gegenwärtigen politischen Verhältnissen zu veröffentlichen.⁸³

Wir erfahren dies aus einem Brief des Thomas Naogeorg (1511 - 1563) vom 21. März 1556⁸⁴ Frölich habe daraufhin Naogeorg zugeredet, eine dichterische Widerlegung des Pedioneus zu verfassen. Diese erschien dann auch sehr bald (bezeichnenderweise ohne Angabe eines Druckortes und Druckers) unter dem Titel *De bello Germanico, in laudem Joannis Pedionaei eiusdem belli scriptoris carmen iambicum trimetrum scazon.* Die Schrift, die einen Umfang von 24 Blättern hat, ist am 1. Januar 1548 dem gleichen Johann Jakob Fugger gewidmet, dem Pedioneus sein Gedicht zugeeignet hatte. Schon das Titelblatt enthält eine Schmähung in dem Wortspiel Pedioneus = Pedicon (Knabenschänder), das auf Frölich zurückgehen soll.⁸⁵

*Laudibus his reditura tibi Germania laus est,
Quam nullam voluit Pedicon esse levis.*

Aber auch sonst kennt das Gedicht des Naogeorg keine Gnade. Pedioneus gehe jegliche Befähigung ab, den schmalkaldischen Krieg zu beschreiben. Weil ihm einmal zehn Verse oder ein Epigramm gelungen seien, habe er sich dazu berufen gefühlt. Nach dem Vorwurf der Nachäffung des Vergil und Überladung des Gedichtes mit mythologischem Apparat setzt sich Naogeorg auch sachlich mit den Vorwürfen des Pedioneus gegen die Protestanten auseinander. "Seitdem in Deutschland das Licht des Evangeliums aufgegangen, habe der Papst stets dem Kaiser und die katholischen Stände zum Krieg gegen die Evangelischen zu bewegen gesucht. Doch habe der milde, einsichtsvolle, gegen Deutschland überaus wohlwollende Kaiser in Sachen des Glaubens nichts von Gewalt wissen wollen, habe vielmehr die Eintracht durch Religionsgespräche wieder herstellen wollen."⁸⁶

Obwohl es ganz eindeutig ist, dass die Kritik des protestantischen Pamphletisten Naogeorg kaum durch die Qualität des Gedichtes von Pedioneus, sondern nur durch seine Stellungnahme für die katholische Partei veranlasst wurde,⁸⁷ haben doch auch die protestantischen Historiker die Schrift des Pedioneus als ein "trauriges Gedicht", das ausserhalb Augsburgs gewiss nicht bekannt geworden ist,⁸⁸ bezeichnet. Tatsächlich aber ist das Gedicht des Pedioneus doch nicht unbeachtet geblieben, sonst hätten Frölich und Naogeorg sich die Mühe einer Widerlegung sparen können. Die Anwesenheit zahlreicher einflussreicher Persönlichkeiten auf dem Augsburger Reichstag macht es wahrscheinlich, dass das Gedicht des Pedioneus durch viele Hände ging, ebenso wie die Widerlegung des Naogeorg. Und wer Naogeorg las, der musste auch Pedioneus lesen. Wenn am 26. April 1548 der Lizentiat Nikolaus Maier, Advokat des Herzogs von Württemberg, dem Grafen Wolrad von Waldeck beide Gedichte des Pedioneus und des Naogeorg schenkte,⁸⁹ so mag dies als ein Beleg dafür gewertet werden. Das Buch des Pedioneus lässt sich sodann in der Bibliothek des Augsburger Stadtarztes Achilles Pirmin Gasser (1505 - 1577) nachweisen,⁹⁰ nicht zuletzt aber auch bei Joachim Vadian in St. Gallen.⁹¹

Dass Pedioneus mit seinem Buch Erfolg hatte, beweisen auch seine späteren Verbindungen zum Hause Fugger, bei dem er sich 1547 durch die Widmung an Johann Jakob Fugger eingeführt hatte. Dessen Sohn Sigmund Friedrich Fugger (1542 - 1600) widmete Pedioneus 1550 seinen Hymnus, der *Infanticidia* betitelt ist. Und im gleichen Jahr widmete Pedioneus Anton Fugger⁹³ eine Ode sowie Johann Jakob Fugger⁹⁴ zwei Oden.

Es gibt noch einen weiteren Hinweis dafür, dass Pedioneus auf dem Augsburger Reichstag nicht ohne Erfolg geblieben ist. Am 1. Dezember 1547 richtete er in Augsburg ein 24 Zeilen umfassendes Gedicht an den Salzburger Kanzler Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter (1506 - 1557).⁹⁵ Weitere Widmungen von einzelnen Oden und Hymnen erfolgten an den Bischof von Eichstätt Moritz von Hutten (+ 1552)⁹⁶, den Bischof von Augsburg Kardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514 - 1573),⁹⁷ den Bischof von Trient Kardinal Christoph von Madruzz (+ 1567)⁹⁸ sowie an den fränkischen Ritter Georg von Crailsheim⁹⁹ und abermals an Julius Pflug.¹⁰⁰

HYMNORUM LIBER

Das Buch der Hymnen und Oden, das 1550 erschienen ist, aber in den Jahren davor sukzessive entstanden sein dürfte, ist König Ferdinand I. gewidmet, dem darüberhinaus auch die beiden ersten Hymnen über die "Auferstehung" und über "Christus" zugeeignet sind.¹⁰¹ Die übrigen Themen sind die Tötung der unschuldigen Kinder, die Hl. Katharina, die Hl. Maria Magdalena und der Evangelist Johannes.

Vielleicht war es nicht zuletzt der Vorwurf einer übermässigen Verwendung der heidnischen Mythologie, der Pedioneus dazu geführt hat, sich der christlichen religiösen Dichtung zuzuwenden. Als Vorbilder dienten Pedioneus Actius Syncerus Sannazarius (1458 - 1530), Hieronymus Vida, Eoban Hessus und Marcus Antonius Flaminus (+ 1550), Dichter, *qui divina sua ingenia non ad res prophanas et ludicras, sed ad Dei Optimi Maximi et Domini nostri Iesu Christi laudes et gloriam converterunt*.¹⁰²

Der Hymnus auf die Hl. Katharina, die auch in Ingolstadt Patronin der Artistenfakultät war,¹⁰³ führt uns auf das Katharinenfest, das an zahlreichen Universitäten üblich gewesen ist.¹⁰⁴ Der Zwiespalt, der sich bei den humanistischen Dichtern zwischen der christlichen und heidnischen Welt auftrat, wird besonders deutlich, wenn wir das Katharinenfest dem Geburtstag Vergils gegenüberstellen. Der von Pedioneus geschätzte Sannazarius,¹⁰⁵ der Mutiankreis in Erfurt¹⁰⁶ und viele andere pflegten den Geburtstag Vergils feierlich zu begehen; auch in Ingolstadt war dies zur Zeit des Pedioneus üblich¹⁰⁷, so dass wir mit Sicherheit annehmen müssen, dass auch der begeisterte Vergilverehrer Pedioneus manches Gedicht zu diesem Anlass verfasst hat. Auch dies ist wieder ein Beweis dafür, dass uns vieles aus der geistigen Werkstatt des Pedioneus bisher unbekannt geblieben ist.

IN DIVUM STEPHANUM HYMNUS

Der Hymnus auf den Hl. Stephanus schliesst sich an die Hymnendichtung an; die gesonderte Veröffentlichung erfolgte wohl deshalb, weil Pedioneus damit einen anderen Kreis ansprechen wollte: den Kreis um den Bischof von Passau Wolfgang von Salm (1509 - 1555), dem dieser Hymnus gewidmet ist. Wolfgang von Salm¹⁰⁸ war ein eifriger Förderer der bildenden Künste (an seinem Hof wirkte der Feldkircher Maler Wolf Huber) und des Humanismus. Dass Pedioneus ihm gerade einen Hymnus auf den Hl. Stephanus widmete, ist wohl auch kein Zufall, da dieser Heilige der Patron des Bistums Passau ist.

Dem Büchlein des Pedioneus ist ein Widmungsbrief an den bischöflichen Sekretär Christoph Zingel beigegeben. Möglicherweise liegt hier ein Druckfehler vor; es käme dann eine Identität mit Christoph Lingel¹⁰⁹ in Betracht, der um 1547 an der Schule von Passau gemeinsam mit Kaspar Brusch (1518 - 1559) und Georg Eder (1524 - 1586) im Geiste des Humanismus wirkte.

Alle gedruckten Werke des Pedioneus aus seiner Ingolstädter Zeit erschienen bei Alexander Weissenhorn (+ 1549) in Ingolstadt.¹¹⁰ Wir dürfen annehmen, dass Pedioneus auch persönlich Bindungen zu seinem Drucker hatte. So verfasste er ein Epitaph zu seinem Tode am 4. Januar 1549.¹¹¹ Nicht sehr viel später starb auch Pedioneus, dessen Werke aber noch viele Jahre lang in den Katalogen der Weissenhornschen Druckerei zu finden waren. Ein erhaltener Katalog aus dem Jahre 1577 führt unter dem Sachgebiet der Theologie den *Hymnus Ioan. Pedionei in D. Stephanum* und den *Ioan. Pedionei Hymnorum liber* auf, während bei dem Sachgebiet *In artibus et historiis* des *Ioan. Pedionei de claris oratoribus* zu finden ist.¹¹²

FREUNDE UND SCHULER

Die Universität Ingolstadt, die seit den Tagen des Johannes Eck (1486 - 1543) ein Bollwerk des Katholizismus gewesen ist, kam noch zu Lebzeiten des Pedioneus unter den Einfluss der Jesuiten. Petrus Canisius (1524 - 1598) predigte am 24. März 1550 in der Marienkirche in Ingolstadt. Und als derselbe für das Wintersemester 1550/51 zum Rektor der Universität gewählt wurde, wird in der Frauenkirche *sacrum solemne de Spiritu Sancto coram universitate* gesungen.¹¹³ Canisius, einer der führenden Theologen der Gegenreformation, äussert sich sehr pessimistisch über die Zustände an der Universität, die nur wenige bewusste Katholiken habe ; insbesondere gegen die juristische Fakultät erhob er den Vorwurf, dass sie protestantisch gesinnt sei.¹¹⁴

Was Pedioneus betrifft, so darf er sicher als ein Katholik gelten. Aber es ist keineswegs so sicher, dass er deswegen auch nachdrücklich für die Belange des Katholizismus eingetreten wäre, wie es Canisius erwartete. Immerhin hatte Pedioneus noch 1542 enge Beziehungen zur Basler Reformation. Und gerade in Ingolstadt war er den von Canisius skeptisch angesehenen Juristen eng verbunden.

Die Verbindung zu Wolfgang Hunger und Nikolaus Everard wurde schon erwähnt. Aus den Briefen lernen wir auch einige Studenten der juristischen Fakultät kennen, die den Unterricht des Pedioneus genossen haben : Albert Reifenstein (+ 1583), Wilhelm Reifenstein und Thomas Schober (1518 -1572). Hinzurechnen dürfen wir auch Hieronymus Fröschel (1527 - 1602), der zuerst Schüler des Johannes Lorichius war, dann aber bei Nikolaus Everard und später bei Wolfgang Hunger wohnte.¹¹⁵ Im Oktober 1545 war er mit Everard und Hunger vor der Pest aus Ingolstadt nach Kelheim geflohen ; vermutlich ist auch Pedioneus ihnen gefolgt. Und schliesslich war Pedioneus auch dem bedeutenden Zasiusschüler Joachim Mynsinger (1514 - 1588), der 1548 auf Vorschlag des Viglius van Aytta Beisitzer des oberrheinischen Kreises am Reichskammergericht in Speyer geworden war¹¹⁶, bekannt. 1549 liess Pedioneus ihn durch Wolfgang Hunger Grösse übermitteln.¹¹⁷

Aus dem weiteren Kollegenkreis ist der Theologe Georg Theander (+ 1570) zu nennen, Rektor des Sommersemesters 1549, an den Pedioneus einen Widmungsbrief im Zusammenhang mit seinen Hymnen richtet ¹¹⁸. Lebhafter waren die Beziehungen des Pedioneus zu Erasmus Wolf (+ 1553), Rektor des Sommersemesters 1550, der zunächst Philologe war, später jedoch zum Priester geweiht wurde, um Stadtpfarrer in St. Moritz zu werden. An ihn richtet sich der Widmungsbrief, der der Edition der Rede auf Cicero vorangestellt ist. ¹¹⁹ Auch eine Ode ist an Erasmus Wolf adressiert :

*Vuolfi tu pater omnium leporum,
Lingua nobilis et sonante plectro,
Vita moribus, eruditione,
Nostrae praecipuum decus iuventae
Interpres simul utriusque linguae*¹²⁰.

Neben Erasmus Wolf ist in der gleichen Ode auch Johannes Lorichius angesprochen, der die gleichen Fächer wie Pedioneus vertreten hat :

*Tuque idem decus elegantiarum
Lorichi, unanimi mei sodales.*

Ihr weiterer Fachkollege Vitus Amerbach hingegen scheint diesem Kreis weniger nah gestanden zu sein. ¹²¹ Zu den Schülern des Pedioneus gehörte aber wohl auch der grosse ungarische Humanist Johannes Sambucus¹²² (1531 - 1584). Sambucus immatrikulierte sich am 17. Juli 1548 in Ingolstadt¹²³, also noch in dem Semester, in dem Pedioneus seine berühmt gewordene Cicerorede gehalten hat. Sambucus wurde später durch seine *Dialogi de imitatione Ciceroniana* (Paris 1561) bekannt, die namentlich auf den Einfluss des Strassburger Pädagogen Johann Sturm zurückgehen, wobei allerdings auch der Einfluss seiner Ingolstädter Lehrer nicht unterschätzt werden darf. ¹²⁴

Von den übrigen Schülern des Pedioneus ist noch sein Landsmann Johannes Theophilus Vogelsang aus Feldkirch zu nennen, vermutlich ein Verwandter jenes Feldkircher Schulmeisters Johannes Vogelsang, für dessen *Musicae Rudimenta* Pedioneus einige Verse geschrieben hatte. Johannes Theophilus Vogelsang immatrikulierte sich in Ingolstadt am 14. September 1548, ¹²⁵ er wurde später ebenfalls Schulmeister in Feldkirch.

Zuweilen konnte es vorkommen, dass das ausgelassene Treiben des Ingolstädter Freundeskreises ausartete, wie uns ein Fall aus den Akten des Universitätsgerichtes zeigt. ¹²⁶ Am 21. Juli 1545 führten die Magister Johannes Welling und Heinrich N. aus Rotenburg gegen Pedioneus beim Consistorium folgende Klage : Pedioneus habe in ihr Haus eindringen wollen, sei aber von ihnen und besonders vom Magister Heinrich so festgehalten worden, dass er nicht ins Haus gelangen konnte. Durch Faustschläge und Stösse geriet Pedioneus derartig in Wut, dass er schrie "Deine Frau ist eine Ehebrecherin." Und ebenso nannte er den Magister Johannes Welling selbst einen Ehebrecher. Die Beleidigten ihrerseits schimpften

Pedioneus einen “Windbeutel” (*nebulo*) und “feigen Hasen” (*pultro*). Und so hatten sie sich gegenseitig in einen Wortwechsel gesteigert. Das Gericht sah darin zwar einen schweren Fall von Beleidigung, liess aber als mildernd gelten, dass beide Parteien geständig waren und sich auch freundschaftlich versöhnt hatten. Es wurde daher der Beschluss gefasst, dass sie sich vertragen und als Zeichen wahrer Freundschaft sich die Hand reichen sollten, was auch geschah; dem guten Ruf beider Parteien sollte dadurch keinerlei Abbruch getan werden.

DAS ENDE

Am 30. November 1550 ist Pedioneus in Ingolstadt gestorben :

*Tandem illi ante diem fatalia flamina Parcae
Ruperunt ...*¹²⁷

Über die näheren Umstände wissen wir nichts; doch scheint der Tod plötzlich und völlig unerwartet gekommen zu sein. Aus einer Bemerkung der Schuldenliste, die nach seinem Tode aufgestellt wurde, kann auf eine dem Tod vorausgegangene kurze Krankheit geschlossen werden: *Et fuerunt etiam hic quaedam remedia scripta forsitan apodecarij.*¹²⁸

Trotz der hohen Schulden, die Pedioneus der Nachwelt hinterlassen hatte, fand sich ein Freund, der dem verstorbenen Dichter einen Grabstein setzte. Das Kalksteinepitaph in einer schönen von Säulen gebildeten Renaissanceumrahmung und in einem Ausmasse von 150 x 100 cm wurde an der östlichen äusseren Chorwand der Frauenkirche eingelassen, wo es leider starker Verwitterung ausgesetzt war. Der Text der Inschrift ist uns jedoch voll überliefert: D.O.M.S. JOHANNI PAEDIONAE O POETAE ORATORIAE FACVLTATIS PROFESSORI QVONDAM CELEBRI AMICVS VIRTVTIS COMMENDANDAE CAVSA P.C. Es folgt sodann das Grabepigramm in acht Distichen.¹²⁹

Am 16. Januar 1551 trat das Consilium der Universität zusammen, um eine Bestandsaufnahme der Schulden des Pedioneus zu machen. Nicht weniger als 19 Schuldner hatten sich gemeldet; die Verpflichtungen des Pedioneus beliefen sich auf über 130 Gulden, also weit mehr als ein Jahresgehalt. Hauptgläubigerin in Höhe von 38 Gulden war die Universität selbst; offenbar handelte es sich um Gehaltsvorschüsse. Auch sonst hatte Pedioneus verschiedene Schuldscheine ausgestellt: zweimal hatte er Summen von je 10 Gulden aufgenommen. 4 Gulden schuldete er dem Magister Georg Dichtel für die Mensa und für Medikamente. Dem Regensburger Wirt Hans Perger aus Steyr schuldete Pedioneus 10 Gulden und dem Mundschenk Johannes Eckhart 2 Gulden für verzehrte Speisen. Die übrigen Gläubiger sind Handwerker und Kaufleute aus Ingolstadt, bei denen Pedioneus verschiedene Dinge eingekauft hatte, zum Beispiel “Zeug für ein Wams” oder ein Stück Tuch. 18 Batzen war Pedioneus in Kelheim schuldig geblieben. Die Armut, die den Dichter durch die meiste Zeit seines Lebens begleitet hatte, wirkte somit auch noch über seinen Tod hinaus.

PEDIONEUS ALS DICHTER

Die literarische Erforschung der Werke des Pedioneus steht noch aus. Nur andeutungsweise konnten wir erfahren, dass er bei einer Fülle von Vorbildern Anregung gefunden hat : bei den italienischen Neulateinern, bei den Erfurter und Wittenberger Dichterkreisen und anderen mehr. Von den antiken Autoren ist namentlich Vergil zu nennen.

Pedioneus hatte das Unglück, dass sein bekanntes Werk *De bello Germanico* in das Kreuzfeuer der konfessionellen Gegensätze geriet. Seine Gegner stellten ihm überhaupt jede Qualifikation als Dichter in Abrede. Schon Graf Wolrad von Waldeck möchte Pedioneus nicht *poeta* nennen ; er fügt hinzu : *si diis placet*.¹³⁰ Ein Dichter also nur, wenn es den Göttern gefällt. Theobald nennt Pedioneus einen "Dichterling"¹³¹, Voigt "den obscursten der Dichter".¹³² Man wird Pedioneus schwerlich gerecht, wenn man sich von diesen Stimmen leiten lässt. Immerhin steht dem das sichere Urteil von Bonifaz Amerbach gegenüber, der dem Anfänger Pedioneus bescheinigte, "dass er ein zierlich gut carmen schript und ze verhoffen, dass etwas recht sinnigs uss im werd".¹³³ Und dass auch Pedioneus zumindestens ein gutes Urteilsvermögen über dichterisches Können hatte, zeigt das Beispiel von Peter Lotichius, dessen Begabung er als erster erkannte.

Pedioneus selbst hat sich nicht unter die grossen Dichter gezählt. Trotz seiner Begeisterung für Vergil hat er sich nicht zugetraut, dass aus ihm ein Vergil oder ein Horaz werden könnte. Er erwartete aber, dass aus seinen Zeitgenossen Dichter vom Range eines Vergil und Horaz hervorgehen würden. Unter diesen erkannte er sich selbst die Rolle eines Ovid oder Tibull zu.

II. Teil :WERKVERZEICHNIS

In Philopseudem Epigramma (1541)

1. Ioannes Pedioneius Rhetus, In Anonymum quendam Philopseudem Epigramma.
In : Johannes Basilius Herold, Philopseudes sive Pro Des. Erasmo Roterodamo ... declamatio.
Basel, Robert Winter, 1542 (Vorrede vom August 1541). Exemplar in der Universitätsbibl. Basel.

Ad Ioannem Herold (1541)

2. IOANNES PEDIONEIVS AD IOANNEM HEROLD
Ibid.

Ad Lectorem (1541)

3. IOANNES PEDIONEIVS RHETVS, ADOLESCENS, AD LECTOREM.
Ibid.

In Grynaeum Epicedion (1541)

4. IN SIMONEM GRYNEVM / ANTISTITEM, PIETATIS ET DO- / CTRINAE VINDICEM PRAECLA- / rissimum, Epicedion à Ioanne Pe- / dioneio Rheto, gratitudinis / ergo celebratum. / Vnà cum Epithaphijs quibusdam. / BASILEAE. /
(Kolophon :) BASILEAE, IN OFFICI- / NA ROBERTI VVINTER, / Mense Septembri, Anno / M.D.XLI. /
8°, 16 Bl. - Gesner, Bibl. univ.; Jöcher¹³⁴, Nr. 1. Exemplare in der Bayer. Staatsbibl. München, Stadtbibl. St. Gallen, Nationalbibl. Wien, Zentralbibl. Zürich.

Ad Bonifacium Amorbachium (1541)

5. Ad Bonifacium Amorbachium, V.C. Ioannis Pedioneij Rheti.
Autographes Bettelgedicht in der Universitätsbibl. Basel, Handschrift G II 23, Bl. 38-39.

Bonifacio Amerbachio (1542)

6. Ionannes Pedioneus Rhetus, Bonifacio Amerbachio Iureconsulto summo.
Autographes Bettelgedicht, Ibid., Bl. 36-37.

Ad litterarum tyrunculos (1542)

7. JOAN. PEDIONEUS RHAE- / tus ad litterarum tyrunculos.
In : Johannes Vogelsang, *Musicae Rudimenta*, Augsburg, Valentin Otmar, 1542. Exemplar in der Universitätsbibl. Graz. Vgl. Renate Federhofer-Königs, *Johannes Vogelsang und sein Musiktraktat (1542), ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte von Feldkirch (Vorarlberg)*, in : *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 1965, S.73-123, besonders S.76, wo das Epigramm des Pedioneus im Wortlaut abgedruckt ist.

Iter Nemetum (1542)

8. Ioan. Pedionei Rheti, ad Iulium Pflugum Episcopum, carmen Hodoe- / poricon, itineris Nemeti.
Autographes Gedicht in der Stiftsbibl. Zeitz.

De claris Oratoribus (1546)

9. IOANNIS PE- / DIONEI CONSTANTI- / ni, ad Volphgangum Hungerum, / de Claris Oratoribus / Libri duo. / EIVSDEM ELEGIAE II. / CVM GRATIA ET / priuilegio sacrae Imperatoriae / Maiestatis. / INGOLSTADII EX OFFICI- / na Typographica Alexan- / dri Vueissenhorn. / M.D.XLVI. / 8°, 55 Bl. - Jöcher, Nr.2. Exemplare im Britischen Museum London, Bayer. Staatsbibl. München, Nationalbibl. Paris.

Julio Pflugo (1546)

10. IOANNES PE / DIONEVS, IVLIO / Pflugo Episcopo. / Ibid., Bl.1^v.

Elegia ad Georgium Loxanum (1546)

11. IOANNIS PE- / DIONEI ELEGIA, AD / Georgium Loxanum Ratisponae Prae- / fectum Imperatorium. / Ibid., Bl. 45^f - 50^v.

Calendae Ianuariae (1546)

12. EIVSDEM CALENDAE / Ianuariae, ad Hauboldum á Braitenbach no- / bilissimum et optimum virum. / Ibid., Bl. 50^v - 55^r.

De bello Germanico (1547)

13. IOANNIS PE- / dionei Constantini, âd Io / annem Iacobum Fugge- / rum Kirchpergae, et / Vueissenhorni Do- / minum, de Bello / Germanico / liber. / CVM GRATIA ET PRI- / uilegio sacrae Imperatoriae Maiestatis. / M.D.XLVII. / 8^o, 24 Bl. - Jöcher, Nr. 3 ; Panzer VI/1,182 ; Graesse V, 182. Exemplare im Stadtarchiv Ingolstadt, Britischen Museum London, Bayer. Staatsbibl. München, Stadtbibl. St. Gallen und Stiftsbibl. St. Gallen. Autographe Handschrift in der Bayer. Staatsbibl. München, Cml. 191 in 2^o, 37 Bl.

Domus Becciana (1547)

14. IOANNIS PEDIONEI / CONSTANTINI / Domus Becciana, Ad Leonhardum Beccium / à Beckstain. / In : Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum, Frankfurt/Main 1612, 5. Band, S. 24-31. Exemplar in der Universitätsbibl. Wien und im Britischen Museum London. Das Buch scheint als eigene Veröffentlichung in Augsburg o. J. erschienen zu sein. Exemplar im Britischen Museum in London.

Ioanni Lucretio (1547)

15. IOANNI LVCRETIO, VIRO ILLVSTRI. (Am Ende:) IO. PEDIONEVS. CALEN. DECEMB. / M.D.XLVII. Augusta. / Autographes Gedicht in der Bayer. Staatsbibl. München, Cml. 280^b, Bl.272.

Hymnorum liber (1550)

16. IOANNIS/PEDIONEI CON- / stantini Hymnorum Liber. / EIVSDEM ODAE VII. / ORATIO DE CICERO- / nis, et eloquentiae laudibus. / Cum gratia et priuilegio Imperatorio. / INGOLSTADII / excudebat Alexander / Vueissenhorn. / ANNO L. / 8^o, 67 Bl. - Jöcher, Nr. 4. Exemplare im Britischen Museum London und in der Bayer. Staatsbibl. München.

Odae (1550)

17. IOANNIS / PEDIONEI CON- / stantini, ad Iulium Pflugum Episco- / pum
Numburgensem / Ode I. /
Ibid., Bl. D⁴ - E⁶ .

De Eloquentiae et Ciceronis laudibus Oratio (1550)

18. IOANNIS / PEDIONEI CON- / stantini, de Eloquentiae, et Ciceronis /
laudibus Oratio /
Ibid., Bl. E⁷ - I³ .

In Divum Stephanum Hymnus (1550)

19. IOANNIS / PEDIONEI CON- / stantini, in D. Stephanum Hymnus, / ad
Vuolfgangum Episcopum / Patauensem. / EIVSDEM ELEGIA, AD /
Georgium Loxanum. / INGOLSTADII / excudebat Alexander /
Vueissenhorn. / Anno M. D. L. /
8^o, 16 Bl. - Jöcher, Nr. 5. Exemplar in der Württ. Landesbibl. Stuttgart und
in der Harvard Houghton Library, Cambridge-Mass.

Elegia in funere L. Brassicani (1550)

20. IOANNIS / PEDIONEI CON- / stantini, ad nobilissimum Equitem Ge- /
orgium Loxanum Elegia in fu- / nere L. Brassicani. /
Ibid., Bl. B¹ - B⁸ .

Epitaphium Alexandri Weissenhorn (1550)

21. EPITAPHIVM ALEXANDRI / Vueissenhorn Typographi. /
Ibid., Bl. B⁸ .

III. Teil : BRIEFE

Nr. 1

Mainz, im Juli 1542

Johannes Pedioneus an Julius Pflug.

Ornatissimo omnibus modis et integerrimo viro, Domino Iulio Pflugk, Dei gratia ecclesiae Neunburgensis et Cizensis praesuli designato Ioannes Pedioneus Rhetus salutem dicit.

Novus hic mihi ad te scribendi modus, nova consuetudo sese offundit, quin et nova, quibus invertam omnia, Iuli praesul dignissime. Cum enim nuper a comitiis magnatum Romani imperii frequenti consessu Spirae celebratis Vormatiam concessissem, profectione ista, quam dudum studiorum meorum causa Louanium susceperam, me tandem evoluturus, in morbum pedis incidi gravissimum, cuius mali praeludium tum senseram, cum me ex Italia patriae redditurus Alpes ipsumque Aquilae montem frigore obrutum immanissimo transcenderem, haecque videbatur protasis nascentis tragoediae. Quoniam vero morbus tamdiu conquieverat, me totum arripere nihil tale futurum suspicatus, facile contempsi, donec paulatim vires suas agens me totum consterneret atque in lectum coniceret. Quo tum me verterem? Quodve consilium vel auxilium requirerem? A literis aberam, ab amicis, a me ipso. Nullus qui huius fortunae patrocinium desumeret, erat. Exposui et deposui, quae habebam, omnia, nec pecuniolae, quae ad profectionem institutam necessaria erat, nec vestibis parcere coactus. Iamque maioribus periculis proximus eram, nisi patronum tandem ipsa miseria mihi demerisset Vitum a Liebenstein canonicum, quo nescio an quemquam humaniorem senserim suaeque nobilitate magis dignum. Adiungebat suae mensae hominem per ex-*) quaeque agitatum sermonem sociabat huic, cuius ne umbram prius noverat, colebat, cui in tam fluctuanti rerum omnium statu existimatio esse nulla poterat, hicque cum dies, quos ibidem apud ipsum substiteram aliquam multos nec tanti exitii finem nec modum attulisse viderem, cogito mutare omnino locum venioque huc Moguntiam, aureas illas Germaniae delitias. Quo postquam mihi de tua praesentia constitit, Iuli praesul, dici non potest, quam subito spes quaedam de tua ista animi magnitudine concepta omni periculo me exemerit. Sic enim exemptus esse videor. Non enim video, quomodo dubitem de tua humanitate, quam expertus Spirae tantis officiis, mihi per omnia facilem polliceor, et hoc tempore, quo (si mortalium pessimus essem) tuo tamen auxilio, naturae ratione communi, non indignus esse possim, quamquam arbitror, me (si nunquam prius) studiis tam meis tibi approbatum iri, ille cum iis, quem certatim omnes recte studiosi, ob tam naturae, quam fortunae dotes praeclarissimas et praedicent et admirentur, audacia me indui plusquam iuvenili, de nostro quoquam primitiis nonnihil adferre, hoc carmine hodoeporico. Quo certe nihil aliud quaesitum est, quam, si nos, memoria tua non ita pridem cognitos excussissent, tuae et privatae et publicae curae, quibus sic obrueris, ut non possis

*) Hier scheint ein Wort nicht zu Ende geschrieben.

cuiusque plebei hominis recordari, sic etiam nullum aversaris, ut non semper nugis debeas occupari, iam quasi postliminio quodam revocarem. Carmen etenim properato partu abortum est, neque ob id dignum quod legas, nisi et nostros casus ut audieris aut mutare possis aut mihi saltem in hisce aliquantulum indulgere. Tuo nomini tuisque in universum virtutibus debemus alia et maiora soluturi, cum licueris. Dedimus hoc iam quod potuimus. Dominus Iesus tuam praestantiam, ecclesiae suae et publico omnium bono, quam diutissime servare dignetur.

Moguntiae, mense Quintili, anno M.D.XLII.

Nr. 2

Schlüchtern, um 1543/44

*Johannes Pedioneus an Petrus Lotichius Secundus.*¹³⁶

Ioannes Pedioneus Rhetus Petro Lotichio S. P. D.

Literis tuis ut respondeam, etsi nulla alia me causa impulisset, ut quem modo cum perturbatis undique rebus omnibus suspensum de meo statu, tum a libris otioque illo literario alienum atque avulsum prope ipse tu animadvertisti, tamen quod partium esse mearum putavi, pro studio erga nostrates omnes adolescentes pari proque amore meo quodam peculiari erga te feci. Siquidem id et tu rogare et meum hoc officium postulare videtur. Itaque quod mehercule prius feci, iam quoque faciam, hoc est, excitabo te, uti illa ipsa via, quam me auctore suscepisti, discendi veram eloquentiam atque optimas artes eo usque contendas, ut quandoque ad summum laudis nomen atque fastigium nostris hominibus pervenisse videaris. Idque sic velim statuas, ut si ad eam ingenii tui vim ac felicitatem parem adhibeas industriam, sis omnes tuas actiones, studia, aetatem, hac una cogitatione corroboraturus, quam prae aliis maxime commodam vitae ac fructuosam studiis maiores nostri iudicarunt. Etenim si non solum homines philosophi, sed dii ipsi immortales a brutis animantibus solis sola quidem orationis vi atque potestate mentis nos esse diversos voluerunt, quo quidem is facere mihi rectius videtur, qui quod accepit a caeteris donum, sua (cum id dii ipsi iubeant) cura, suo labore perficiat, nec solum loqui posse contentus sit, sed ultra etiam loqui ornate ac splendide discat seque vere non hominem, id est, mortalem ac fragilem, sed immortalem et quasi deum virtutis actione se fingat. Ea vero cum aliis multis rebus constant, tum praecipue summa ipsumque gloriae culmen in eloquendi ratione consistit. Quam quidem etsi plurimi diversis modis ambiverint, eloquentiam dico eiusque aliquam quisque partem adumbraverit, pauci tamen veram illius vivamque imaginem ad hunc sane diem repraesentarunt, idque non tam aliquando naturae vitio aut ingenii imbecillitate, quam parum prudenti huius rei arduae moderatione atque iudicio, quo quidem destituti

fuerunt. Hinc caeterae dotes, quamvis amplissimae, imminui, confundi atque turbari ipsique illi ardore magis animi rapi, quam spe effectus frustrari. Sed cum porro tribus praecipue modis se mortalibus ea dicendi ratio infundat : usu, ardore, imitatione, iisque tamquam ducibus constet eloquentia. Eam tu viam potius aggredi, eam rectius doctissimorum hominum sententiam sequere, qua ad summum pervenire posse confidas. Nam cum ista tibi naturae facilitas est, tum illa quidem felicitis ingenii vis atque potestas, ut nihil omnino tam in arduo positum tamque sublime esse videatur, quo non assequi posse te sperem, non facile te in mediocritate quasi desperato successu, non in satietate, quasi confecto cursu patior consistere, sed in altum te velim efferri, quo te voco. Itaque quod a me his paucis diebus audivisti pluries, id et mehercule iam repeto atque inculco, uti unum prae omnibus aliis eligas, quem maxime studeas exprimere in consuetudine et dicendi bene et scribendi. Eum equidem unum esse ac maximum omnium M. Tullium dico, qui omnes in oratione virtutes, omnes dicendi nervos, omnem vim, copiam, venustatem ita persecutus est, ut non homo quispiam Arpinatum civis, sed quasi deorum immortalium consilio, Iovisque Opt. Max. gremio lapsus in terram, civibus, imperio reique publicae Romanae divinam induxerit linguam. Cuius quidem maiestatem atque virtutem non Capitolium dico solum incredibili admiratione complexum est, sed et exterarum nationes, gentes, civitates ipsique adeo Graeci homines in huius unum conspectum ora obvertebant sua, huius sermone extremi totius orbis incolae, populi incogniti, remotissimae gentes suspensae velut ac victae conquieverunt. Quare sic statuendum tibi est, ut hunc unum imiteris atque effingas, a quo maximos speres studii tui fructus. Nec sane ad hoc languidior tibi animus adferendus est, tamquam obsequio solum rem tam arduam iri confectum putes, aliis profecto, aliis opus est. Etenim cum videas infantem non tantum parentis (quem quidem agnoscit) vias et vestigia conari, linguam exprimere, mores ac gestus, totum denique habitum ac statum effingere, donec similitudinem aliquam veri hominis adeptus puer suis fulciri membris suisque corroborari viribus incipiat, inde paulatim a maioribus acceptum sermonem discat exequi lingua, iis demum ipsis nimirum verus apparebit parentis sui filius. Quae quidem eo tibi ob oculos a me sunt posita, ut videas atque discas, quantum imitatione natura vel adiuvari vel promoveri queat. Idque omnino, quantum valeat, re ipsa experiare. Hoc certe velim, ut Ciceronem ipsum, tamquam linguae tuae parentem ac magistrum agnoscas, eum unum admirare, diligas, amplectare denique et exprimendo similitudinem aliquam non quidem ut simius hominis, sed ut filius patris assequare. Ex eo igitur si quid petendum sit, uno tamquam perenni linguae thesauro Romanique sermonis fonte haurias. Proinde eum ingenium tibi sit ad optimas artes et liberales disciplinas, maxime vero cum ad poetarum studia, tum eloquentiae natum atque dispositum velim, immo te rogo atque obsecro, ut eo ipso constanter utare, te exerceas eamque ad metam, quo pauci pervenerunt, totum vitae curriculum, omnem operam, studium, laborem impendas : quo expectationem non modo non fallas meam (quod profecto minime omnium convenit), verum etiam vota, si libet, nostra vincas. Vale. Solitariis.

*Johannes Pedioneus an Wolfgang Hunger.*¹³⁷

Ioannes Pedioneus Volphgango Hungero iureconsulto S. P. D.

Cum nuper Ratispona domum revertissem, quo me contuleram literatos quosdam homines salutandi causa, nihil antiquius habui, quam morem gerere voluntati tuae. Recordabar enim diu multumque sermonis illius, quem tu de claris oratoribus et de toto hoc genere dicendi ab antiquis temporibus ducto, elegantissimum mecum et suavissimum habuisses, in quo quidem genere omnes meos sensus consentire tecum affirmasse me cogitabam videbamque non solum haec, quae statueres, te sincero iudicio atque acute statuere, verum etiam tuis in scriptis apparere summa cum dignitate et copia animadvertebam. Atque ego quidem, qui in eadem imitatione veritatis iam diu tecum versor summoque studio id conor assequi, quod tu iam olim egregie es consecutus, video me ad haec ornamenta dicendi non tantum naturae quantum studii et voluntatis adferre. Sed etsi ego ingenio nihil possum, tamen mihi iucundum est, videre in aliis eas laudes et imaginem veteris eloquentiae, in te etiam, ut in homine amicissimo, perhonorificum ducō.

Quare magnam sane ex eo capio voluptatem, eam rationem viamque nostris etiam hominibus patefactam, ut quibus ex fontibus haurienda esset haec dicendi gloria iam tandem intelligerent, cuius rei ignoratio multas studiis hactenus calamitates importavit idque apud nos potissimum, quo admodum sero haec noticia pervenit. Etenim non tam recte iudicare, praeclarum, quam multa cognoscere laudabile maiores nostri putaverunt. Quae ratio iudicii oppressit elegantiam et ingenii vim labefactavit. Tametsi illorum quoque causa defendi cum aequitate aliqua potest, ut qui in multarum atque magnarum rerum scientia nomen et decus invenerint, tamen quoniam ornatu orationis carent et virtutibus destituta sunt oratoriis, summam laudem plane non merentur. Hinc est, quod plurimorum hominum vel nostra vel paulo superiore aetate, multa inventa praeclare, sed scripta frigide passim evanuerint, et si quid talium scriptorum est, quorum tamen utilitas aliqua fortasse sit, aut tenebris opprimatur omnino aut certe sine fastidio legi non possit ab eruditis. Itaque cum saepe hac de re tecum loquar et proximo superiore anno in contione frequentissima meam sententiam explicarim, tum etiam nuper tu mecum de his oratoriis fontibus, unde omnis petenda vis esset eloquentiae, gravissime, ut omnia, et copiosissime disseruisti, ita ut hoc etiam habito sermone a me contenderes, ut si quid otii esset, tibi condonarem atque illos omnes, qui unquam oratores extitissent, comprehenderem versibus, sic statuens fore, ut homines nostri plerumque ignari, unde haec tanta virtus tamque incredibilis dicendi gloria manarit, a quibus inventa sit et educata et propagata eloquentia, cum Graecis scriptoribus, tum Latinis, hoc tamquam compendio eorum, quae a pluribus perscripta sunt, uterentur. Magnam enim vim in rebus humanis et habent et obtinent exempla plurimumque a

summis ingeniis elaborari videmus, ut, quoscumque in genere propositos sibi auctores habent, eorum quam similimi esse magnopere cupiant hacque imitatione eo laudis evehantur, quo sine exemplo, hoc est duce, et tamquam commonstratore viae nequaquam pervenissent. Ita profecto est, sine aemulatione virtutis et imitatione veritatis neminem eximiam laudem ullo unquam tempore consecutum esse. Ut enim in re bellica atque administratione imperii Annibal unum sibi Alexandrum, cuius virtutes imitaretur et quasi vestigia persequeretur, habebat propositum posteaque alii alios, et apud Romanos summi viri et clarissimi imperatores, Sylla imitatione Scipionis, illius L. Lucullus horumque amborum postea Pompeius et Caesares maximas terra marique gesserunt atque in omnes gentes populi Romani nomen et gloriam propagarunt, ita de hac etiam oratoria laude statuendum est. Non enim cum iis sentio, qui apud Athenienses Demosthenem et Aeschinem et multo ante hos Thucydidem et Themistoclem suo tantum ingenio, sine imitatione superiorum, hanc gloriam in re publica atque imperio putant assecutos. Nam et Graecia semper omni genere literarum atque virtutum ante omnes nationes floruit posteaque Romani eos ipsos, a quibus illa acceperant, Graecos superare conati, aequalem iis vel paene etiam superiorem in omni re gloriam sunt adepti. Ac de imperatoribus quidem hoc tempore tacendum puto, de oratoribus, qui propositi nobis erant, loquar, illos, qui et eloquentes et sapientes habiti sunt et nominati, Africanos, Laelios, Catones, quorum vellent in omni vita similes esse, sive suos sive externos, certe puto omnino aliquos habuisse. Eos autem postea Lepidi, Pauli et duo Sempronii in ea ratione dicendi, qua illos studuerunt aequare, longe etiam reliquerunt, ut hos deinde Antonius, Crassus superarunt, tum post ipsos quoque Philippus, Cotta, Sulpitius ab Hortensio relictis sunt et isti omnes denique a Cicerone, in quo quidem principe, sive inclinatis temporibus, sive quod superior esse nullo modo posset, omnis eloquentia conquievit. Qua propter hanc tu exemplorum vim et imitationis auctoritatem in nostris requirens mecum egisti, ut oratores omnes, qui unquam vel apud Graecos vel eos, quos tu plurimum amas, Latinos clari et principes extitissent, versibus describerem atque in ordinem disponerem. Ac tametsi difficile erat ac paene ambitiosum, post Ciceronem et Plutarchum, quos hic praecipue secuti sumus, aliquid velle in hoc genere edere, quod ille in Bruto omnium fere oratorum nomina, aetates, dicendi genus perscripserit, hic autem vitam etiam eorum paene omnium, res gestas et eventus Graecis literis copioseque memoria mandarit, ac uterque auctor ita excellat, ut neque Ciceronis oratione carmen melius neque Plutarcho graece loquente Romanus sermo reperiri possit illustrior, tamen neque ita illi scripserunt, ut nemini post sese aliquid tentandi facultatem reliquerint, cum omnes fateantur, ingenuo homine et libero dignum esse, in illis se exercere, quae etiam si non magnam utilitatem adferant, tamen nullo nec publico nec privato damno fiant. Sciuntque omnes tales illos viros tantosque oratores fuisse, ut omnibus monumentis, graecis, latinis, omni varietate literarum, a maximis mediocribusque, celebrari et summis in caelum laudibus extolli mereantur. Hac ego ratione adductus, non quod ex hac opera magnam aliquam laudem sperarem, si enim aliquid ingenio

possem, quod minimum possum, constitutum apud me habeo, quo ex genere petendum id esset quove ordine pertractandum, sed potius tamen, ut in liberali exercitatione versatus, aliis maiora audendi atque praestandi, hanc quasi facem praeferrem, tibi in eo morem gerens. Sic igitur feci, ut primum domum redii, libros in manus sumpsi, posthabitisque caeteris, quae privatim me urgebant, occupationibus (nam ex publica muneris mei, quo hic fungor, administratione nihil detrahendum temporis puto), sed privatis tamen et domesticis rogitationibus intermissis, aere me hoc alieno liberavi, non tamen ut vos magni poetae soletis, sed quemadmodum ego possum, singulis epigrammatis ac Latino, ut puto, sermone oratores cum Graecos, tum Romanos duobus libris complexus sum, eosque principes tantum sumpsi, qui maxime hac gloria caeteris mortalibus praestitissent. Non enim, si haec pro dignitate praestare non potui, ideo mihi cessandum fuit, quominus gereretur mos petitioni tuae. Amo enim te cum ob excellens ingenium tuum summamque doctrinam, tum etiam propter suavissimos atque integerrimos mores tuos plane mirifice cupioque in omnibus tibi a me satisfieri, vel quia sic merentur virtutes tuae, vel etiam, ut pro tua erga me singulari benevolentia praecipueque in omnes optimarum artium studiosos liberalissima et constantissima voluntate me et meo et illorum quoque nomine quam esse cupidissimum tui ostenderem. Eo accedit, quod illi ipsi oratores ad neminem rectius aut scribi aut mitti debuerunt quam ad eum, qui ita illorum persequitur vestigia imitaturque virtutes, ut pene assequatur, habeamque ex meis omnibus neminem, quem tibi in hac laude praeferendum putem. Non enim vereor, ne me adulari tibi putes taliaque falso a me dicta tuis auribus tribui, cum etiam multis rebus perspectum habeas ingenii mei candorem et simplicitatem. Sed quia haec vere possum dicere, perlubenter etiam soleo de amico dicere, omnium te nostrorum hominum et in docendo gravissimum et in dicendo promptissimum et in utroque ornatissimum mihi esse visum. Itaque vere iureconsultum existimo, qui ad hanc legum civilium iurisque peritiam etiam liberalium artium maximarumque rerum disciplinam adiunxit, tum artes etiam et ornamenta, quibus haec omnia illustrantur, oratoria. Quod tu quidem, mi Hungere, ita fecisti semper, itaque facis, ut me maxime cupiam tibi in omni vita esse coniunctissimum. Postremo sic existimes has artes et Latinam eloquentiam apud te in nostra schola patrocinium quaerere, ut, quae barbarorum hominum inscitia diu tenebris oppressa latuit, ea tandem et exemplo tuo emergere in lucem et auctoritate tua confirmari et ope denique sublevari possit. Itaque statuas, te neque hominibus nostris utiliorem neque tua persona digniorem rem ullam facere posse. Qua quidem in re nobilem iureconsultum Nicolaum Everardum affinem tuum et me quoque, quantum ego possum, adiunctos tibi et affixos habebis. Vale. Quinto decimo Calen. Apriles MDXLVI.

*Johannes Pedioneus an Adam Carolus.*¹³⁸

Ioannes Pedioneus Adamo Carolo, regis consiliario, S. P. D.

Oratores meos mitto ad te, Carole, ad quem enim potius quam ad eum, qui ita illorum praestantissimorum hominum vestigia persecutus est, ut prope assequatur? Etenim est id in te singulare, ut cum caeteris omnibus excellas, tum vero praecipue in hoc dicendi genere sic praestes, ut mihi videre, non modo cum hominibus aetatis nostrae doctissimis esse comparandus, sed cum ipsa paene antiquitate certare. Recte igitur atque praeclare intelligit rex tuus, non omnium modo regum, sed omnium plane hominum optimus ac sapientissimus, non posse se talem videri, qualis est, nisi in adiungendis sibi hominibus, sui quam similes quaerat, quorum quidem domi praestanti virtute ac sapientia fruatur quorumque in negotiis industria ac fide possit uti. Vehementer autem me movit, ut ad te scriberem hoc tempore, ne vel ego oblitus consilii tui viderer, qui me, ut in hanc viam ingrederer, amantissime saepe esses adhortatus, vel tu etiam quam spem atque opinionem de adolescentiae meae studiis habuisses, eam meo perpetui biennii silentio ne immutares, quo nihil mihi accidere gravius posset. Cupio enim maximopere, sicut audire ex me saepe potuisti, quicumque ad hanc imbecillitatem ingenii mei accessus fieri industria, labore, diligentia poterunt, ad regis tui meique conferre rem publicam, eo sane facturus id lubentius, quando in ea re publica cum semper alias, tum imprimis hoc tempore, non aulam verius, quam omnis virtutis officinam doctorumque hominum ac sapientium domicilium esse constat. Vale.

4. Id. Maii MDXLVI.

*Johannes Pedioneus an Johann Jakob Fugger.*¹³⁹

Ioannes Pedioneus, Orator et poeta imperatorius, Ioanni Iacobo Fuggero, magnifico et nobili viro, S.P.D.

Bellum Germanicum scripturus tres, Fuggere, libros institui. Horum qui primus est, iam perfectum a nobis et absolutum, et nisi fallor, etiam emendatum ad te mitto, ut quam spem atque opinionem de reliquis duobus habiturus sis, iam nunc animo tecum constituere possis. Quamquam tamen et medius ad finem fere iam properat, sed nondum lima ea, quae adhiberi debet, accessit. Nec mihi quidem in hoc praesertim genere scribenti ita properandum censeo, ut quicquam praematurae famae causa nisi emendatum, elaboratum perfectumque in lucem proferam. Satis, opinor, maturabo, si sat bene, ut ille nescio quis inquit, sin vero

nec bene, etiam plus satis mature. Verum tamen quantulumcumque illud sit, si eodem modo, quod operis reliquum est, licuerit vel per aetatem vel per otium detexere ac perpolire, in spem venio, meam operam viris doctis et praeclaro iudicio prudentiaque praeditis hominibus me probaturum. Neque enim vel eius iudicii poenitendum videtur, quod de hoc ipso primo libro iam factum est, et quidem a doctissimis, quorum testimonia fortasse etiam suo tempore prodibunt. Nam iis quidem, quorum dignitas et gloria in hoc bello agitur, dubito nullo modo, quin animum studiumque meum comprobare possim, vel quod in causa magnifica, non humilimo, ut ego quidem opinor, orationis genere versatus sim et heroum res gestas heroico et carmine et numero attingere conatus. Quis autem in tali praesertim causa maiore uti moderatione ac modestia potuit, qui ne iis quidem, si modo se respicere voluerint, valde molestus sim, quorum causam invidia primum maxima gravavit, temeritatem deinde et audaciam (ut in re atroci verbo quam levissimo utar) exitus tristis atque acerbus comprobavit? Sed aliud mihi spectandum fuit, non quo illi mereantur stylo confici, quo colore depingi, verum potius uti ad lenitatem animi et clementiam singularem illam ac prope divinam summi et imperatoris et viri naturae quandam exprimens similitudinem, ne illis quidem admodum stylo nocerem, quibus ipse in victoria pepercisset. Nec tantum quid haec tempora postulant, sed multo magis quid posteritas olim iudicatura et de illis et de nobis esset, considerandum duxi. Ac in eo sane, quo magis laborandum fuit, videor assecutus, ut neque historiae simplici ac nuda veritate contentus, neque ob artificium carminis, quae remotiora a fide et veritate sunt arripiens, me vel invisum aliis vel aliis obscurum reddiderim, sed ita historiam tamquam poema et ita carmen tamquam historiam tractans, in hac certe fidem, in illo vero etiam ornatum quandam spectari volui. Ad te autem, Ioannes Iacobe Fuggere, hoc opus meum, quo adhuc nullum maius maiorisque operae et industriae suscepi tractandum, hac de causa potissimum mitto, non uti ad armatum et eum (ut plerique solent et ego certe potuissem), qui aliqua huiusce belli praecipua pars fuisset, sed uti ad eum, qui in pace spectator esse quam actor in bello maluerit, et eum denique, qui initia huius calamitosissimi belli et sapienter praevideris et diligenter caveris, auctorque fueris civibus tuis, ut maiestatem divini imperatoris obsequio potius et pietate venerari ac conservare vellent, quam eiusdem potestatem, quae hodie totam fere Europam amplectitur, armis et iniuriis tentandam et violandam putarent. Qui certe si tuam essent et prudentiam et auctoritatem secuti, non rem publicam non patriam in commune discrimen dedissent, non se suosque in tot calamitates praecipitassent. Itaque pacem bello recte tu quidem praeponendam putasti. Tu idem postquam nec consilio neque auctoritati bonorum et bene sentientium civium locum vidisti, abesse a locis illis maluisti quam videre, quae agerentur, neque ullo modo particeps esse voluisti earum actionum, quas nunquam probavisti, ne aliqua re aut fidei aut constantiae tuae videreris defuisse. Iam postquam inclinata res est et victoria per eum constituta, ad quem deus ipse immortalis, ad quem fortuna hominesque omnia ornamenta contulerunt, cuius victoria et domi dignitas et foris auctoritas retenta est, non defuisti, quantum in te fuit, patriae et cui re

integra non potuisti persuadere, quid sequendum esset, is adflictae opem tulisti. In quo quidem eximia laus extitit Antonii Fuggeri, magni et praeclari viri, patru tui, qui etiam privatam iniuriam quorundam audacissimorum hominum, pietati, quam patriae debebat, postponens, deprecatoris vicem apud Caesarem gerere sustinuit et iram victoris armati oratione ac multo verius gratia et caritate nominis sui leniit atque mitigavit, cives patriae, patriam civibus restituit. Cui quidem si priscis illis temporibus vixisset, cum pro pietate bene merito civi honores et immortalis gloriae praemia civitas constituit, non certe supplicationes multorum dierum, non equestris et inaurata statua, non honores omnes satisfacturi viderentur.

Huc accedit illa quoque causa, quod ad te potissimum mitto, ut quo animo erga te sim fuerimque iam diu, quo scilicet omnes fere studiosi doctique viri nostro tempore sunt, ex me aliquo illustriore argumento cognosceres. Deinde ad quos potius convenit mittere lucubrationes suas omnes eruditos quam ad eos, qui mirifice literas diligunt, literatorum hominum cogitationes venerantur studiaque promovent? Inter quos, Fuggere, tu principem hodie locum obtines. In quo quidem praeclare sentis exempla te domestica habere ad imitandum. Primum quidem parentis tui Raimundi Fuggeri, summi et singularis viri, et intueris cottidie Antonium patruum, quorum liberalitate et industria non minus hodie in Germania quam olim in Italia per Medices literae et literati viri excitantur et ornantur. Tu igitur, Ioannes Iacobe Fuggere, hunc primum librum a nobis accipe, donec et secundum emendatum et tertium additum habeas, quod erit, ut spero, proximis annis futurum. Atque hunc quidem librum tamquam reliquorum testem scilicet ac praedem apud te et apud caeteros esse volumus ideoque publicavimus, quod nec a tuo iudicio, quod gravissimum sum arbitratus, ulla in re velim dissentire, nec sane honeste possim amicorum eorumque doctorum repugnare voluntati, qui quidem me ad hanc editionem et consiliis gravissimis excitarunt, et cottidianis fere monitis impulerunt. Sed intelligunt nimirum atque ego memini persaepe cum a nostris hominibus, tum vero etiam antiquis scriptoribus, quosdam libros seiunctos ab aliis publicatos et editos fuisse, et summos poetas, Romanorumque omnium facile principes Virgilium, Lucretium et Horatium singulos quosque libros recitasse constat, quod non meo iudicio minus est, quam quicquam nos hodie librariorum manibus invulgare. Quod autem ad me attinet, si a studiis meis animum tuum non omnino alienum esse sensero, dabo operam, ut plura aliquando et uberiora et meae erga te benevolentiae et observantiae in universam familiam tuam accipias a me documenta. Vale.

6. Calen. Sextiles, 1547, Ingolstadio.

Nr. 6

Ingolstadt, den 3. Juni 1549.

*Johannes Pedioneus an Georg Theander.*¹⁴⁰

Ioannes Pedioneus Georgio Theandro, Ingolstadianae Academiae rectori S. P. D.

Valde laetor probari tibi institutum meum, quo in Dei Optimi Maximi Divorumque laudibus scribendis et edendis utor. Iudicium vero de me tuum cum ut hominis eruditissimi et in studiis divinarum humanarumque rerum longe praestantis per mihi honorificum fuit, tum literae tuae tam suaviter, tam eleganter scriptae magnumque mihi amoris et benevolentiae tuae pignus afferentes, multo sane iucundissimae fuerunt.

Quamquam mihi iudicium illud tuum ab amoris exuberantia et ingenui quadam animi tui dexteritate potius profectum, quam ex re ipsa, hoc est, ex ingenii mei merito factum esse videatur, tamen non quod ex eo magis mihi placere debeam, sed quia certius voluntatis tuae testimonium nactus literas tuas, tamquam praedes quosdam domesticos teneam, idcirco magnopere laetor. Quomodo enim agnoscam laudes illas, quas tu mihi tam benigne in illis literis tuis tribuis, vim ingenii, carminis maiestatem, orationis elegantiam, quae certe, quia laude digna sunt, ego in te potius aut in aliis sane perpaucis quam in me esse sentio. In quo illud tamen, quod viri boni facere solent et ii, qui virtutis suae conscii nullaue malevolentiae labe suffusi, nullis alienis invident laudibus neque ullo animi morbo feruntur in caeteros, in te equidem agnovi et factum tuum mecum tacitus comprobavi. Etenim quantum illud est, quod ego ingenio meo praestare possum? A natura enim parum instructus sum ad copiam facultatemque dicendi. Eo accedit, quod nec industriam illam, qua cum naturae tarditas saepe corrigitur, tum agilitas semper adiuvatur, adferre scribendo possim. Tot enim curis agitatus animus atque vexatus, tot publicis privatisque laboribus distracta cogitandi voluntas studium omne scribendi retardat et curam subtrahit elaborandi. Atque ut uno verbo dicam, omnem, quicumque in nobis est, sive ingenii sive animi vigorem fortunae pene temeritas extinguit. Vides, mi Theander, quomodo adhuc et quale ipsa cum natura mea fortuna bellum gerat, nulla praecipue mea culpa, sed sua quadam quasi fatali tempestate nos obruit et affligens superiorum temporum iniuria de constituto cursu, etiam clavo inhaerentem excutit, ac tantum non praecipitem in fluctus agit. Per quam sane tempestatem tam turbulentam, tam molestam, si mihi liceret, quantum vellem in studiis literarum, quas semper amavi, magnarumque rerum et libero homine dignarum contemplatione atque in virtutis actione versari, perficerem fortasse aliquid, si minus quantum tu mihi tribuis, illud tamen perficere conarer, cum ut me natum patria laetari posset, tum ut non frustra natum posteritas ipsa quondam iudicaret. Verum ut horum nihil sit futurum neque unquam assequi possim, quod volo sequi, testimonium tamen voluntatis meae relinquam civibus meis fortasse non poenitendum; quam quidem voluntatem meam tibi cum primis in omnibus disciplinis erudito et sane literato viro tam probari tantoque

opere laudari, valde me hercule gaudeo. Atque eandem ob causam nec caeteris bonis et doctis viris, quorum est hodie in Germania nostra multitudo, improbari institutum meum posse confido. Quam ob rem quod me ad perficiendum amantissime et honorificis verbis adhortaris, scito negotium totum nunc paene confectum esse et me editionem adornare cum Hymnorum quidem, tum vero etiam quorundam Carminum, quae illis non incommode adiungi posse iudicavi. Cuius rei argumentum te videre ex duobus istis Hymnis, quos novissime scripsi, volo eaque de causa mitto. Postremo, sicut erat in tuis literis, quod de tua in me propensa voluntate tam prolixè polliceris, omnia videlicet mea causa facturum esse, in quo ne ipsi quidem doctissimo atque optimo viro, nostri omnium amantissimo Erasmo Vuolfio concessurus sis, plus ut ille me diligat, agnosco, mi Theander, et humanitatem et liberalitatem tuam, quam mirifice mecum complectens in animo atque in memoria mea teneo et dum vivam tenebo. Quid enim non possim de te mihi in posterum polliceri, qui tam multa iam feceris mea causa, ut tot tibi beneficiis obstrictus, ingratus esse sine scelere et turpi inhumanitatis nota non possim? Quo etiam maiorem mihi occasionem opto dari cum declarandae erga te benevolentiae meae, tum ornandae quibuscumque rebus possim dignitatis tuae. Hoc tibi persuadeas meque diligas, valde te etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

Ingolstadii, III. Non. Iunii MDXLIX.

Nr. 7

[Ingolstadt] den 13. Juni 1549.

*Johannes Pedionaeus an Erasmus Wolf.*¹⁴¹

Ioannes Pedionaeus Erasmo Vuolfio S. P. D.

Orationem meam, quam superiore anno maxima, ut scis, frequentia Academiae nostrae de studiis eloquentiae et de Ciceronis laudibus habui, quod iam saepius ab hominibus nostris requiri scriptam viderem, librarii tandem manibus imprimendam dedi. Atque eo quidem feci consilio, ut sive quid boni in ea lucubratiuncula videretur esse, quod ignoro ipse, dubito quidem valde, id ipsum a me sub tuo nomine communicaretur in vulgus, sive minus esset, eodem tamen praesidio defensionis tuae factum meum audacius, quo in minus graves repraehensionis incurreret, niteretur. Quamquam quid tandem magnopere repraehendi factum eius mereatur, qui in illo ipso, quo studet prodesse quibus potest, nocere nemini, quemadmodum nobis iura divina et humana praescribunt, nullam tamen ambitionem, nullos quaerit alios fructus, quam gratam operam praestare amicis? Eam praesertim cum honestam, tum meo iudicio debitam petentibus? Inter eos tu, Erasme, primus summusque es et fuisti, tum qui nonnihil boni esse in meis studiis putaris, tum qui maximis tuis erga me meritis, hoc quicquid est muneris tacitus etiam quodammodo, sed tuo plane iure tibi

vendicaris. Argumentum porro orationis nostrae, non parum ad eam rem valuit. Quid enim non laudemus eloquentiam? Qua, si cum sapientia et religione coniuncta est, quod vere affirmare possum, inter omnis praeclaras artes et nobileis, nullam a Diis immortalibus nobiliorem et praestantiorem habemus? Ipsius vero Ciceronis nostri coeleste divinae virtutis ingenium, naturae illud immortale miraculum laudare, cuius non est quasi debitum munus? Eius praesertim, qui studiosum esse se optimarum artium profitetur. Horum etiam temporum ac locorum eiusmodi ratio est eaque natura, quod ipse vides, Erasme, ut nisi ad optima statim vitae literarumque praecepta traducatur iuventus, similis sit futura sui, et quod plerumque fieri solet, sane metuendum est, ne dum levia quaedam ac minuta, quia faciliora vulgo videntur, magnis et praeclaris artibus, maximarumque rerum auctoribus anteponuntur, melioris hoc et elegantioris disciplinae genus, rationemque non ita pridem nobis cum Italis atque Gallis a Germanis auctoribus communicatam, penitus amittamus. Quod tamen ne fieri possit, ut de alienis taceam, nostros certe civeis commissuros non puto, ut hanc novam veteris eloquentiae sapientiaeque laudem a nobis auferri patiantur, rem praesertim illam tam praeclare multis gerentibus, in quibus duo optimarum artium principes, homines nobilissimi Iulius Pflugus et Christophorus Carolovicius longe omnibus antecellunt. Nam quid ego de Bartholomeo Latomo et Ioachimo Camerario virtutis antiquae viris aut quid de Ioanne Sturmio dicam? Cuius praeclaris artibus non solum haec propagatur dicendi ratio, sed hoc auctore eloquentiae doctrinaeque laudibus in Germania novum quoddam quasi domicilium comparatur. Sunt alii multi eiusdem laudis appetentes et esse quam plurimos optandum est, cum praesertim summos viros ac prope divinos Romanae facundiae atque omnis sapientiae longe hac aetate principes, Petrum Bembum et Iacobum Sadoletum, nuper amiserimus, quibus addo nostrum Adamum Carolum, cuius virtus et doctrina singularis, in maximi regis familia tamquam quoddam lumen emicuit. His igitur extinctis vel potius a nobis ablati, decet novum lumen parare et adolescentes nostros, quemadmodum ad divinae atque humanae sapientiae disciplinam, ita ad eloquentiae atque ingenii cultum adhortari. Ac velut in caeteris quidem omnibus virtutis, religionis, fortitudinis, sapientiae laudibus, nullis prope gentibus concedunt homines nostri, ita in his doctrinae studiis atque omnis honestae disciplinae monimentis, quibus immortalis memoriae nomen proponitur, illustre virtutis decus, appetere decet principatum. Eum quidem ego mihi nec spero neque ambio, ne cuiquam tam videar impudens, sed in meis civibus videre cum hunc quidem ipsum, tum omnia summa constituta et volo et opto. Tibi vero, Erasme Vuolfi, mitto hanc orationem meam, nec tamen tamquam quoddam munus magnopere expetendum, quod ipsum tamen si possem perlubens mitterem, verumtamen inter ea, nisi fallor, recipiendum, quae tibi ab aliis mittuntur amicis tuis, in quibus ego, si minus ingenio atque doctrina, quod ipsum ingenue fateor, at amore tamen singulari et benevolentia erga te mirifica appetere studeo principatum. Amo enim et amavi te a multis annis plane constantissime neque unquam ulla in re, quod scis ipse, imminutus est mutuus amor noster, in quo sane meum de te iudicium indies magis magisque crescit, ut

non solum id cupiam, quod debeo praestare tua causa, verum etiam plura et maiora, quam praestare possim, appetam. Quod quidem ut faciam velimque, cum illa tua tam liberalis, tam elegans eruditio plurimaeque excellentis ingenii tui svavitates merentur, tum etiam mea quaedam perpetua consuetudo atque in amicis colendis fides mihi praescribunt. Vale.

Idibus Iunii MDXLIX .

Nr. 8

Ingolstadt, den 28. August 1549.

Johannes Pedioneus an König Ferdinand I.¹⁴²

Ferdinando Caesari, Romanorum, Pannoniae, Boemiaeque optimo et maximo regi, Ioannes Pedioneus S. P. D.

Cogitanti mihi diu et multum animoque repetenti varias actiones hominum et voluntates, duo genera reperio, Ferdinande rex invictissime, laude hominum digna, unum quidem eorum, qui ita in rebus gerendis versari voluerunt, ut ipsorum consilio atque ope patria primum resque publica, deinde optimus quisque niteretur, alterum vero eorum, qui a publicis soluti laboribus caeterisque curis liberi, omne tempus aetatis in excolendis optimarum artium studiis magnarumque rerum disciplinis consumere maluerunt. Ac tametsi plus fere popularis apud plerosque laudis et gloriae mereri videantur, qui in negotiis, quam qui in otio literarum nomen ac famam sibi constituerunt vel propterea quod in administranda re publica maius quoddam virtutum omnium lumen cernitur, prudentiae quidem in constituendis et conservandis, iustitiae in distribuendis et moderandis, fortitudinis autem in propugnandis atque amplificandis imperii finibus omnique genere officiorum gerendo, tamen nec sua laude privari debent nec certa ratione caruerunt, qui aut magnis perfuncti laboribus contentionum atque curarum veluti spatio suo ac tempore decurso ad metas liberalis otii constiterunt aut ii, qui a publicis omnino muneribus abstinentes in doctrinae studiis et contemplatione divinarum humanarumque rerum totiusque naturae vitam tranquillam plenamque honestissimae voluptatis elegerunt. Ac sane ut caeteras omittam liberales disciplinas et nobileis, quarum omnium tamquam parens quaedam et regina est philosophia, poeticam certe, quam accepimus, antiquiorem fuisse et constare novimus ex omnibus fere caeteris magnarum artium instrumentis, ita quibusdam summo ingenio praeditis hominibus placuisse constat, ut eius humanitate et suavitate contenti, longe hoc studium popularis famae muneribus atque honoribus anteferrent. Nec sane defuerunt ullis fere temporibus magni homines, qui in utroque parem laudem assequi vellent, et in actione et contemplatione virtutis nec minus praeclarum putarunt doctrinae ac sapientiae studiis, quam rerum gestarum gloria apud mortales immortalem

nominis sui dedicare memoriam. Quo enim illa omnis doctrinae atque ingenii magistra Graecia et in ea nobilissima illa Atheniensium civitas genere virtutis caruit? Qua deinceps laude non abundavit populus ille Romanus omnium temporum atque gentium princeps? Quae duae omnium maximae respublicae vel ob id potiri rerum meruisse mihi videntur, quod non minus ingeniis quam factis praeclaris sua praemia atque honores esse voluerunt. Recte illi quidem atque praeclare, quid enim tantus ille virtutum chorus, iustitia, gravitas, constantia, prudentia aut quid magnitudo animi atque illa vis in omni virtutum ad commendationem posteritatis valuisset, si tantum qui illas animo tenuissent, ac non etiam, qui ingenio propagassent ad omnium saeculorum memoriam fuissent. Hinc igitur exempla hominis coeperunt, quorum cognitione excitati quam plurimi ad imitandum se contulerunt, et imitatione eam, quam per sese vix ipsi reperissent, ad egregia facinora viam paraverunt eamque ingressi pleno gradu ad summa fastigia contenderunt. Hinc reges, imperatores, duces et magni viri innumerabiles extiterunt, qui cum ipsius pulchritudine virtutis, tum multo magis spe posteritatis accensi, in maximas saepe contentiones atque in acerbissima vitae discrimina caput ultro suum obiecerunt, quod profecto non fecissent, nisi tum a natura ipsa docti et exemplis incitati sensissent aliquid esse ultra communem mortalis vitae sortem homini expetendum et summum esse quoddam bonum, cuius simulacro atque imagine divinae illius immortalitatis, qua cum Deo olim futuri sumus, quam proxime delectationem et gloriam caperent eamque propagarent saeculis innumerabilibus. Magna itaque gratia, Ferdinande rex invictissime, habenda est praeclaris hominibus, non solum illis, qui dignas laudes gesserunt, sed illis etiam, qui literis laudaverunt memoriaeque mandarunt, non tam ipsis quidem historicis, quorum simplex plerumque magis grata veritas est, quam poetis, qui cum divino adflati spiritu canant, incredibiles habent animorum motus atque vim maximam et ad persuadendum et ad excitandum. Robertum Sanseverinum illum Salerni ducem, cuius olim opera in bello et toga fideli atque praeclara usus est avus tuus, Ferdinande, Divus Maximilianus, audivimus Homérico carmine tamquam tuba excitari solitum in proeliis, et cum a numeris illis sonoque naturae ipsi rerum proximo spiritum fere plusquam heroicum recepisset, in medias hostium turmas tamquam alterum Achillem irrupisse suoque exemplo victoriam saepe suis reportasse. Idem de fortissimo atque acerrimo viro audivimus Ioanne Lyrano, qui cum veterem nobilitatem, vetustate prope generis intermortuam, nova virtute revocarit, non parum laudis et gloriae sub fratre tuo, Ferdinande, Carolo Augusto imperatore, et in bello et in pace constituit. Atque is Virgiliani maiestate carminis sic in proeliis, oppugnationibus atque in omni genere bellorum accenditur, sic inflammatur, sic rapitur, ut cum maximo aliquando vitae discrimine prope solus undique circumfusus hostibus suum imperatorem, fratrem tuum, ad ipsa moenia persequi ausus sit et virtutis antiquae novo exemplo oppositum flumen armatus equo traicere.

Multis profecto claris ducibus, imperatoribus, regibus animos addidit heroici carminis maiestas, et cum exempla valuerunt, tum vis ipsa tacita naturae ad

praeclaras res et gerendas et obtinendas excitavit. Magna enim vis est carminis, magna certe, Ferdinande rex, ut cum caeterarum artium scriptores doctrina, exercitatione, usu prudentiaque nitantur humana, poetae soli sorte quadam divina motuque coelesti canunt, hic Dei divorumque immortalium laudes, ille virtutes heroum aliusque alia, suoque potissimum quisque in genere excellit. Ob hancque causam verum est, quod creditur vetustas Deum ipsis mentem surripere eisque tamquam ministris uti oraculorumque nuntiis et divinis vatibus, ut ii, qui audiunt leguntve talia, liquido percipiant, non tales eos esse, qui tam digna referant, cum suae ipsi rationis vix compotes sint, sed intelligant haec aliquod numen eloqui et per illos haec potissimum nobis inclamare. Quae cum ita sint, non immerito sapientissimi veteres, quamdiu homines et dicere laudanda et facere sunt soliti, honores atque praemia constituerunt illis, qui vel urbium certarumque gentium vel etiam singulorum laudes perscripserant. Ac si recte praemiis digni sunt habiti, qui hominum res memorabiles scripserunt (nam vix tolerandi sunt, qui ad obscoenam turpitudinem, maledicentiam atque eiusmodi petulantiam et animum et orationem converterunt suam, quique a furiis potius quam a Musis aut aliquo numine excitantur ad scribendum) quanta illi laude, quanta admiratione digni sunt, qui cum ad commodum communis humanae societatis, tum multo magis ad gloriam Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi Divorumque laudes studium omne suum atque ingenium contulerunt. Quod enim praeclarius argumentum aut nobilius, quam quod singularem ingenii gloriam ostendit, pari cum pietate et virtute coniunctam? Quid autem homine dignius, quam talentum illud, quod acceperit, multiplicata mercede eidem, a quo acceperat, Deo grata animi pietate velle (quoad quidem homini licet) reddere? Quod quidem egregie praestitit vir ille nobilitate, virtute, sapientia, eloquentia longe hac aetate admirabilis Actius Syncerus Sannazarius, et pari virtute, religione, ingenii maiestate praeditus M. Hieronymus Vida, qui divina sua ingenia non ad res prophanas et ludicras, sed ad Dei Optimi Maximi et Domini nostri Iesu Christi laudes et gloriam converterunt. Atque his quidem eam sunt illi gloriam consecuti, quam olim in longa posteritate excepturi sint omnes anni consequentes, ut nullum profecto nobis debitum referendae gratiae reliquerint locum. Sed Deus ipse, Deus ille, cuius adflati numine tam docta, tam sancta, tam nobilia poemata cecinerunt, qui etiam unus gratiam ac praemium talibus meritis referre dignum potest. Sicut et M. Antonio Flaminio et nostro Eobano Hesso, viris immortalitate dignis, et eis omnibus, qui pia in Christum mente divinas res, quae omni orationis ornatu hactenus atque etiam dignitate caruerunt, dignum opus arbitrantur, in quo perpoliando, ornando atque amplificando elaborent. Nam si non immerito laudantur, qui ingenio liberali atque animo praediti cogitationes suas, citra alterius iniuriam, quoquo modo miserint in literas, ut cum prodesse studeant humanae societati, tum verae laudis atque gloriae, cuius optimus quisque cupidus est, amore tangi videantur, quanto magis amandi, laudandi, extollendi sunt, qui et ingenio omnium nostra aetate praestantissimi sunt et fuerunt, et pietate ac sapientia longe omnibus antecellunt? Atque his equidem exemplis incitatus vel animatus horum potius atque inflammatus spiritu

aliquot Hymnos confeci, Ferdinande rex, non quod illis parem laudem assequi me posse confidam, neque enim tam sum amens, ut hoc a quoquam praestari putem posse, nisi ab eo (quod iam fieri vix possit), qui illis ingenio atque eruditione sit quam proximus maximeque similis, sed ob hanc causam potius, ut quicquid ego possem, quod minimum esse sentio, in argumento pio ac liberali ostenderem hominibusque nostris, quorum permulti ingenio et doctrina me superant, hanc quasi facem et signum quoddam praeferrem, quo suas facultates ingenii conferre et possint et debeant. Nam cum nullae aliae res sint digniores, in quibus ingeniosi homines elaborandum sibi ducant, quam sunt sacrae atque divinae, de vita scilicet, de morte, de dictis et factis memorabilibus Christi atque Divorum, de immortalitate animorum, de praemiis atque poenis coelestium atque inferorum caeterisque generis eiusdem, quis tandem mihi vitio vertat, si in quo ego tantum fortasse volui, in eo aliis, qui melius possunt, facultatis suae rationem viamque commonstrem. Optandum est enim esse quam plurimos, qui in hoc scribendi genere versari, praeclarum putent, ut res omnium pulcherrimas ita studeant illustrare, ut quae omni hactenus ornatu caruerunt et humanis prope inferiores fuerunt, eae nunc demum divinis pares aut (si ita liceat dicere) superiores paene factae esse videantur. Tibi vero, Ferdinande rex invictissime, hanc meam qualemcumque operam dedico, cum multas ob alias causas, quibus nulli potius deberi visum est, tum potissimum, ut qua ego maiestatem tuam, qua amplissimae spe virtutis liberos tuos observantia, cultu, studio, pietate prosequare, vel ob eiusdem etiam maiestatis tuae erga me iam pridem admodum adolescentulum merita, tuamque illam clementiam, cui ne ad habendas quidem gratias unquam esse par potero, hoc ex argumento liquidius cognosceres. Huc accedit, quod si patronus huic lucubrationi nostrae quaerendus erat, ut certe fuit, hoc praesertim tam maledico atque invidio saeculo, quem ego te potiozem, rex Ferdinande, patronum eligerem? Cuius maiestate tamquam numinis quodam praesidio stare et tutus esse noster conatus posset, cuius praeterea tot et tantae virtutes, religio, sapientia, iustitia, fortitudo, clementia, integritas, fides, tantae opes, tanta maiestas imperii, ea porro erga doctos atque studiosos et omnis bonos liberalitas, ut a fratre tuo Carolo Augusto, imperatore optimo maximo profecti neminem habeamus inter omnes nostri saeculi reges, quem tecum conferre possimus. Suscipe ergo, Ferdinande rex invictissime, hoc nostrae in te observantiae parvum pignus, quod non ex eo tamen metiri velis, quod quantum iam potuerim praestare, tantum voluerim tua causa, sed ex eo potius, quantum adhuc possim aut certe velim pro tua maiestate cum in hoc quidem genere scribendi, tum in caeteris studiis atque officiis, si solitam erga me clementiam tuam non defecisse perspexero. Vale.

Ingolstadii, V. Calen. Septembris MDXLIX.

*Johannes Pedioneus an Wolfgang Hunger.*¹⁴³

Ioannes Pedioneus Volphgango Hungero, assessori imperatorio, S.P.D.

Hymnos meos cum quibusdam carminibus atque etiam oratione mea typis impressos Alberto Reifensteino, quo istuc facilius perferetur, dedi. Quod quidem eo consilio feci, ut, quoniam mea scripta tibi et collegis quibusdam tuis essem pollicitus eaque iam tandem requiri viderem, eodem facto et fidem meam liberarem et gratam benevolentiae nostrae memoriam vobis praestarem. Tibi vero, Hungere, cui cogitationes meas atque actiones omnes non solum constare, sed etiam probari vehementer cupio, scribendum etiam duxi, ne tanto intervallo non equidem oblitus tui (quomodo enim obliviscar tui ?), verumtamen ne aut parum in scribendo diligens aut non satis officiosus in amando videar. Volo autem atque etiam cupio, me in utroque talem agnosci a te quidem primum, qualis videbar, ut opinor, olim vel iudicio tuo, quod gravissimum duco, deinde eum cognosci me a caeteris volo, quem et ingenita naturae vis et ratio humanitatis consuetudoque bonorum requirunt. Praesertim cum de animo erga nos tuo et fide constantiaque illa singulari non modo literis constet multorum, sed fama etiam ipsa et sermone plurimorum. Te vero mirifice scito diligi, coli, amari, non a me tantum, namque id tibi novum esse non debet, quod quidem dum facio, praetermittere sine scelere et summae turpitudinis nota non possum, sed ab illis etiam omnibus, quicumque tui aliqua de causa memores esse possunt, quorum ingens est pro virtutibus tuis multitudo. Nec sane alia ratione desiderium absentis tui leniri posse credimus, quam aestimatione et fructu dignitatis tuae, nec tam, qualem a nobis dimissum esse et virum et amicum quondam dolumus, nunc quidem dolemus, quam et eo loci nunc vocatum et ad eos homines dimissum esse gaudemus. Locum es enim nactus, Hungere, dignissimum virtutis tuae et quasi theatrum quoddam exercendi ingenii, prudentiae, eloquentiae tuae, neque in humili officio aut sordido munere versaris, sed in officina quadam iustitiae sapientiaeque civilis et in coetu uberrimo doctissimorum hominum praestantissimorumque ingeniorum, tamquam in illa Germaniae luce atque conspectu es constitutus et quasi in domicilio quodam et consilio orbis terrarum. Laetare igitur et frui tuo isto bono, nos vero, qui non minorem ex commodis tuis atque ornamentis capimus voluptatem, ita demum complexus teneto, si senseris idem nos facere, et optatam tui memoriam grato animo tenere. In quo etsi paucis concedo vel potius nemini, tamen ita cotidianis officiis cum a te quidem ipso, tum a caeteris multis vincor, ut hoc unum doleam, voluntati non parem esse in nobis facultatem. Atque eam quidem ob causam et has scripsi literas et librum meum ad te perferendum Reifensteinio dedi, ut scilicet eodem internuntio tibi et illius et nostri veniat in mentem. Nam ipsum quidem vel ipsos potius Reifensteinos, illos paribus virtutis atque fortunae similes fratres et

vere germanos, quo loci habeas, quo item adolescentem ingeniosissimum Hieronymum Froeschelium, omnes et affines et alumnos disciplinae tuae, amore prosequaris, mihi quidem notum, ipsis vero notissimum est. Quanti autem illi te faciant, quam te suspiciant, quam admirentur ipsorum officiis melius quam meis literis cognitum atque testatum habes. In eorum numero me quoque ut aliquem numeres et nos, qua solitus es, constantia atque amore diligas atque defendas, vehementer rogo. Collegis tuis, doctrina et virtute praestantibus, Ioachimo Mynsingero et Thomae Schobero meis verbis salutem. Vale.

III. Id. Septembris MDXLIX.

Nr. 10

Ingolstadt, den 25. Dezember 1549.

*Johannes Pedioneus an Christoph Lingel.*¹⁴⁴

Ioannes Pedioneus Christopero Lingelio S. P. D.

Cum librum meum de divinis laudibus edidissem neque hoc tempore praeter sex illos hymnos quicquam in isto genere perfectum haberem, nescio quo animi affectu commotus sum, ut in divum quoque Stephanum et primum et nobilissimum Christi militem aliquid perscriberem, quod caeteris adiungi commode posset. In quo equidem non tam id sum veritus, quod dici poterat, magis hic tritam viam me secutum esse (plures enim extare in divum Stephanum hymnos editos a viris doctissimis noveram), quam quod idem argumentum, post illa Italiae lumina Bembum atque Vidam longo intervallo tractandum sumpsissem, summis illis et divinis vatibus nullo modo comparandus. Sed perrexi tamen, quo me animus meus mensque ipsa rapiebat, in quo equidem quantum perfecerim nescio, magnam certe et in cogitando et in scribendo voluptatem ipse percepi, istiusque hymni, quod affirmare possum, plane prae caeteris mihi iucunda confectio et amabilis visa est, quod ego instar esse cuiusdam praemii duco. Habet enim huius argumenti ratio, praeter alias commoditates, laetitiam in bonis, consolationem in rebus adversis ipsaque animi impetus et perturbationes importunas quadam ratione componit et coerctet, neque a dei agnitione rerumque coelestium amore patitur evagari. Haec sentiet quicumque pia in deum divosque mente similia aut scripserit aut legerit. Verum ego cum huic quoque lucubrationi meae patronum quaererem nulla ambitione (deum testor immortalē), sed iustis de causis motus iniuria praesertim istorum et hominum et temporum, quibus nihil tam incorruptum tamque sanctum a quoquam dici aut scribi potest, in quod non improborum atque invidorum, quorum plena sunt omnia, temeritas incurrat et audacia, volui Stephanum meum ad R. Pr. Wolfgangum episcopum Pataviensem mittere idque multis de causis feci, cum quod argumentum personae mihi episcopi convenire videretur, tum quod

inter episcopos nostrates, quorum hodie non paucos, in maximi spe proventus Christianae doctrinae atque pietatis, habet nostra Germania, hic eximium locum obtinet. Cuius praeter excellentes animi dotes, studium insigne pietatis concordiaeque Christianae et praecipuum quendam religionis cultum, talis quoque doctrina est, ea in literis omnibus praestantia, quae in istius ordinis hominibus vix facile solet inveniri, quod ego ornamentum ita in principe viro, ut in auro gemmam elucere puto.

Tibi autem has literas scripsi, cum virtutis atque doctrinae merito excitatus tuae, tum dignitatis etiam tuae causa et eius loci, quem in magna gratia apud Pataviensem episcopum obtines, de quibus mihi Erasmus Wolfius, vir et dignitate praestans et eruditione, saepe narravit. Cuius quidem consilio et commemoratione factum est, ut tibi hanc meam lucubrationem meque ipsum potius commendari maxime vellem, deinde ista per te reverendissimo principi tuo. Quae tamen commendandi, si nulla erit gravior causa tibi visa vel haec, ut opinor, erit non iniusta, quod ego in hoc scribendi genere profectus ab rege meo, omnium regum optimo, caeterisque principibus et sapientissimis et doctissimis, in hoc ordine neminem habuerim, quem principi tuo praeferendum putarim. Vale.

Ingolstadii, ipsis Natalibus MDXLIX.

Anmerkungen

Diese Studie widme ich meinem verehrten Freunde und Lehrer Dr. Conradin Bonorand in Luven (Graubünden), dem ich durch viele gemeinsame Studien zur Geschichte des rätischen Humanismus verbunden bin.

- 1 Aus der Grabinschrift des Pedioneus, abgedruckt bei Johann Baptist Götz, *Die Grabsteine der Ingolstädter Frauenkirche (1428 - 1829)*, in: *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Ingolstadt*, 44 (1925), S. 118 f.
- 2 Herbert Lüthy, *Wozu Geschichte*, Zürich 1969, S. 12.
- 3 Johann Huizinga, *Europäischer Humanismus: Erasmus*, Hamburg 1958, S. 10: "Die Ungesetzlichkeit der Geburt hat über seine Abstammung einen Schleier gebreitet. Vielleicht hat Erasmus selbst erst in späteren Jahren die Umstände seiner Geburt allmählich kennengelernt. Ausserst empfindlich für den Makel, der auf ihr lag, hat er mehr getan, sie geheimnisvoll zu verdunkeln, als sie klarzustellen."
- 4 Georg Ellinger, *Die neulateinische Lyrik Deutschlands in der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin/Leipzig 1929, S. 198; Hans Jakob Leu, *Allgemeines Helvetisches, Eydgenössisches oder schweizerisches Lexicon*, 14. Bd., Zürich 1758, S. 420.
- 5 Ellinger, a. a. O., S. 198.
- 6 Georg Voigt, *Die Geschichtsschreibung über den Schmalkaldischen Krieg*, in: *Abhandlungen der philol.- hist. Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 6, Leipzig 1874, S. 731.

- 7 So zum Beispiel Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexikon, Fortsetzungen und Ergänzungen*, 5. Bd., Bremen 1816, Sp. 1781 f. Die Annahme ist darauf zurückzuführen, dass Pedioneus später den Beinamen "Constantinus" führte, der nicht geklärt ist. Dieser Beiname deutet aber schon deshalb nur schwer auf Konstanz, weil die entsprechende Herkunftsbezeichnung "Constantiensis" heissen müsste.
- 8 So die Grabschrift des Pedioneus, abgedruckt bei Götz, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 1), S. 118.
- 9 Ludwig Welti, *Humanistisches Bildungsstreben in Vorarlberg*, in : Montfort 17 (1965), S. 126 - 162.
- 10 Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Handschrift G. II. 23, Fol. 38^v.
- 11 Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Handschrift G. II. 23, Fol. 36^r.
- 12 Stiftsbibliothek Zeitz, *Carmen Hodoeporicon itineris Nemeti* (1542).
- 13 Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Die Herkunft des Dichters und Humanisten Johannes Pedioneus*, in : *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für das Fürstentum Liechtenstein*, 71 (1971) (im Druck).
- 14 Ein Vergleichsbeispiel findet man in Hans Georg Wackernagel, *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, 2. Bd., Basel 1956, S. 50 : "Johannes Henricus Kneblin Riehensis", geb. 1531 in Riehen bei Basel, gest. 1582 als Pfarrer in Riehen. Die deutsche Übersetzung von Pedioneus kann ebensogut Kindlein wie Knäblein heissen.
- 15 Oskar Vasella, *Untersuchungen über die Bildungsverhältnisse im Bistum Chur mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Klerus vom Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts bis um 1530*, in : *Jahresbericht der Historisch- Antiquarischen Gesellschaft von Graubünden*, 62 (Chur 1932), S. 174 f., Nr. 47.
- 16 Adalbert Horawitz, *Caspar Bruschius, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation*, Prag/Wien 1874, S. 260.
- 17 Zu weitgehend die Annahme von Alfred Hartmann, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, 5. Band, Basel 1958, S. 351, der Grossvater des Pedioneus sei Doctor juris gewesen.
- 18 Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Handschrift G. II. 23, Fol. 38^v.
- 19 Fridolin Tschugmell, *Trisner- Geschlechter 1237 - 1958*, in: *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für das Fürstentum Liechtenstein*, 58 (1958), S. 158 ff.
- 20 Kaspar Brusch, der sich am 25. Oktober 1536 in Tübingen immatrikulierte, widmete in seinen *Progymnasmata*, Tübingen 1537, ein kleineres Gedicht einem Johann Kindlein. Vgl. Horawitz, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 16), S. 30. Denselben Johannes Kindlein widmete Brusch ein Exemplar seiner Ausgabe der *Vita Domini nostri Ihesu Christi*, Erfurt 1544 (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Signatur To 308). Die ebenfalls von Brusch herausgegebenen *Evangelia et Epistolae dominicales omnes cum M. Lutheri summariis*, Leipzig 1544, sind gleichfalls diesem Johannes Kyndlein *Ostrofranco, quaestori Cadolsburgio* gewidmet, der mit Johannes Pedioneus nicht identisch ist.
- 21 Stiftsbibliothek Zeitz, *Carmen Hodoeporicon itineris Nemeti*.
- 22 Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Handschrift G. II. 23, Fol. 36^r.
- 23 Th. Burckhardt-Biedermann, *Hieronymus Guntius*, in : *Zwingliana*, 2 (1905/12), S. 236.
- 24 Ebenda, S. 236 - 243 ; Emil Egli, *Hieronymus Guntius, der Famulus Zwinglis*, in : *Zwingliana*, 1 (1897/1904), S. 401 - 408 ; *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz* (vgl. Anm. 17), 4. Bd., S. 463.
- 25 Werk Nr. 4, Bl. a³.
- 26 Werk Nr. 2 und Nr. 3.

- 27 Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Wiesbaden 1963, S. 35.
- 28 Andreas Burckhardt, *Johannes Basilius Herold, Kaiser und Reich im protestantischen Schrifttum des Basler Buchdrucks um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Basel 1967, S. 106 f., Anm. 57 und 58.
- 29 Ibid., S. 127 f.
- 30 Werk Nr. 4, S. 28 f., wo Herolds *De Simone Gryneo Fragmentum Funebre* abgedruckt ist.
- 31 Burckhardt-Biedermann, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 23), S. 237.
- 32 Matrikel der Universität Basel (vgl. Anm. 14), S. 25, Nr. 20.
- 33 Ibid. S. 25, Nr. 19.
- 34 Ibid. S. 25, Nr. 18.
- 35 Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Handschrift C VII 19. Abgedruckt bei Welti, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 8), S. 146. Bei der Datierung folge ich Welti (Matthias 21. September, nicht 24. Februar) gegen Burckhardt-Biedermann, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 23), S. 237.
- 36 Werk Nr. 5.
- 37 Werk Nr. 6.
- 38 Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Handschrift C VIa 71 II, Bl. 133. Abgedruckt bei Welti (vgl. Anm. 9), S. 146.
- 39 Stadtbibliothek (Vadiana) St. Gallen, Signatur Jd 380/8. D. *Joachimo Vadiano Con. Jo. Pedioneus Rhetus d. d.*
- 40 Werk Nr. 7.
- 41 Brief Nr. 1.
- 42 Werk Nr. 20, Bl. B 5^v.
- 43 Werk Nr. 8.
- 44 Karl Schottenloher, *Kaiserliche Dichterkrönungen im heiligen römischen Reiche deutscher Nation*, in: *Papsttum und Kaisertum. Paul Kehr zum 65. Geburtstag*, München 1926, S. 648 - 673, enthält keinen Hinweis auf Pedioneus.
- 45 Otto Fridolin Fritzsche, *Glarean, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Frauenfeld 1890, S. 68.
- 46 Friedrich Michael Schiele, *Die Reformation des Klosters Schlüchtern*, Tübingen 1907, S. 105. Ellinger, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 4), S. 198 nimmt an, dass Pedioneus bereits 1535 in Schlüchtern gewesen ist ; dies ist jedoch mit der übrigen Chronologia kaum zu vereinbaren.
- 47 Welti, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 9), S. 154.
- 48 Werk Nr. 20, Bl. B⁴.
- 49 Brief Nr. 8.
- 50 Adalbert Schroeter, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neulateinischen Poesie Deutschlands und Hollands*, Berlin 1909, S. 38 ; August Ebrard, *Peter Lotich der Jüngere. Sein Leben und eine Auswahl seiner Gedichte*, Gütersloh 1883, S. 4 f.
- 51 Brief Nr. 2.
- 52 Werk Nr. 20, Bl. B⁶ - B⁷.
- 53 Gustav Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 - 1662*, 1. Bd., Heidelberg 1884, S. 588.

- 54 Götz Freiherr von Pölnitz, *Die Matrikel der Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität Ingolstadt-Landshut-München*, 1. Bd., 1472 - 1600, München 1937, Sp 616.
- 55 Karl von Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Ingolstadt, Landshut, München*, 1. Bd., München 1872, S. 195.
- 56 Ibid., 1. Bd., S. 212.
- 57 Über ihn vgl. Guido Kisch, *Erasmus und die Jurisprudenz seiner Zeit*, Basel 1960, S. 462 ff.
- 58 Prantl, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 55), 2. Bd., S. 183.
- 59 Werk Nr. 18.
- 60 Grabschrift (vgl. Anm. 1), S. 118.
- 61 Stephen d'Irsay, *Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères*, 1. Bd., Paris 1933, S. 352.
- 62 Werk Nr. 10.
- 63 Werk Nr. 9.
- 64 Werk Nr. 12.
- 65 Werk Nr. 11.
- 66 Werk Nr. 17, Ode IV.
- 67 Werk Nr. 20.
- 68 Reinhold Rau, *Die Tübinger Jahre des Humanisten Johannes Alexander Brassicanus*, in : *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 19 (1960), S. 89 - 127.
- 69 Welti, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 9), S. 160.
- 70 Nikolaus Paulus, *Der Augustinermönch Johannes Hoffmeister, Ein Lebensbild aus der Reformationszeit*, Freiburg 1891, S. 215 f.
- 71 Zu diesem Problemkreis vgl. Guido Kisch, *Gestalten und Probleme aus Humanismus und Jurisprudenz, Neue Studien und Texte*, Berlin 1969.
- 72 Andreas Alciatus, *Emblematum Libellus*, Darmstadt 1967 (Reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Paris 1542). Dort auf S. 237 Hungers Übersetzung der "Insignia Poetarum" : Der Poeten wappen.

*Mit ruem fueren manch grosse hern
Einn Adler, Lewen in irmm schilt,
Etlich ein schlang, oder ein Bern,
Oder sunst was gewlich und wild :
Vil pas zielt die Poeten mild
Der Swan, in unnserm land gemayn,
Vor iarn ein kung, und noch ein bild
Lieblichs gesang, und sitten rayn.*
- 73 Werk Nr. 20, Bl. B .
- 74 Roderich Stintzing, *Ulrich Zasius, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rechtswissenschaft im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 2. Aufl., Darmstadt 1961, S. 105 ff. Ibid. S. 107, ein Zitat aus einem Brief des Zasius an Alciat, das die genannten Reformbestrebungen charakterisiert : "Alle Wissenschaften haben ihr schmutziges Kleid abgelegt, nur die Jurisprudenz ist in ihren Lumpen geblieben."
- 75 Statt vieler Karl Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V., Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches*, 6. Aufl., München 1961, S. 478 ff.
- 76 Über kulturgeschichtliche Details vgl. neben der Zimmerschen Chronik das weiter unten genannte Tagebuch des Grafen Wolrad von Waldeck sowie das Diarium über den Reichstag von Augsburg 1547/48 von Ewald Creutzmacher, in : *Archiv des Historischen Vereins von Unterfranken*, 47 (1905), S. 297 - 329.

- 77 Werk Nr. 14, S. 25.
- 78 Werk Nr. 13.
- 79 Vgl. dazu August von Druffel, *Des Viglius van Zwijchem Tagebuch des Schmalkaldischen Donaukriegs*, München 1877, S. 21 ff ;
H. Jos. Kirch, *Die Fugger und der Schmalkaldische Krieg*, München-Leipzig 1915.
- 80 Zuletzt Welti, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 9), S. 151 : "...gerade diese, eines christlichen Dichters unwürdige Konzession an den allmächtigen humanistischen Zeitgeschmack macht die Lektüre für uns Heutige fast ungeniessbar."
- 81 C. L. P. Tross, *Des Grafen Wolrad von Waldeck Tagebuch während des Reichstages zu Augsburg 1548*, Stuttgart 1861 (= Bibliothek des *litterarischen* Vereins in Stuttgart, 59), S. 33 : *Nota Pedionaeo poetae (si diis placet) ingratitude ab Augustanis objici*.
- 82 Georg Voigt, *Die Geschichtsschreibung über den Schmalkaldischen Krieg*, in : *Abhandlungen der philol.- hist. Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 6, Leipzig 1874, S. 731.
- 83 Eine Veröffentlichung erfolgt erst durch Johann Burckhard Mencken, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, 3. Bd., Gotha 1730, Sp. 1361 - 1490. Vgl. Max Radlkofer, *Leben und Schriften des Georg Frölich*, in : *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*, 27 (Augsburg 1900), S. 93 f.
- 84 Leonhard Theobald, *Das Leben und Wirken des Tendenzdramatikers der Reformationszeit Thomas Naogeorgus seit seiner Flucht aus Sachsen*, Leipzig 1908, S. 13.
- 85 Ibid., S. 13.
- 86 Ibid., S. 14, mit erschöpfender Inhaltsangabe der Schrift des Naogeorg.
- 87 So auch Welti, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 9), S. 151.
- 88 Voigt, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 82), S. 732.
- 89 Tross, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 81), S. 38.
- 90 Vatikanische Bibliothek Rom, Handschrift Cod. Palat. lat. 1923, Bl. 70^v. Über Gasser vgl. Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Achilles Pirmin Gasser (1505 - 1577)*, 2 Bände, Wiesbaden 1970.
- 91 Stadtbibliothek (Vadiana) St. Gallen, Signatur Jd. 380/9.
- 92 Werk Nr. 16, Hymnus VI, Bl. D¹ - D³.
- 93 Werk Nr. 17, Ode II, Bl. D⁵ - D⁷.
- 94 Werk Nr. 17, Ode III, Bl. D⁷ - E¹. Es ist anzunehmen, dass Pedioneus für diese Widmungen jeweils Verehrungen erhalten hat. Eine diesbezügliche Anfrage an das Fuggerarchiv in Oberkirchberg (Kreis Ulm) blieb leider negativ.
- 95 Werk Nr. 15.
- 96 Werk Nr. 16, Hymnus V, Bl. C⁵ - C⁸. Die Arbeit von Karl Ried, *Moritz von Hutten*, Münster 1925, erwähnt Pedioneus nicht.
- 97 Werk Nr. 16, Hymnus IV, Bl. B⁸ - C⁵.
- 98 Werk Nr. 16, Hymnus III, Bl. B⁴ - B⁸.
- 99 Werk Nr. 17, Ode VI, Bl. E⁴ - E⁶.
- 100 Werk Nr. 17, Ode I, Bl. D⁴ - D⁵.
- 101 Werk Nr. 16, Hymnus I und II, Bl. A⁷ - B³.
- 102 Brief Nr. 8.

- 103 Prantl, a. a. O. (Vgl. Anm. 55), 1. Bd., S. 62.
- 104 Vgl. Karl Hartfelder, *Das Katharinenfest der Heidelberger Artistenfakultät*, in : *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1 (1891), S. 52 - 71.
- 105 Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 4. Bd., Leipzig 1751, Sp. 130.
- 106 F. W. Kampschulte, *Die Universität Erfurt in ihrem Verhältnis zu dem Humanismus und der Reformation*, 1. Bd. Trier 1858, S. 103.
- 107 Johannes Sambucus, *Δημηγορίαι hoc est Conciones*, Basel 1552, S. 104 ff.
- 108 Robert Reichenberger, *Wolfgang von Salm, Bischof von Passau (1540 - 1555)*, Freiburg 1902.
- 109 Ibid., S. 72. Falls der Name Zingel richtig ist, wäre auch eine Identifizierung mit Christopherus Zengkle Vuendingensis zu erwägen, der im April 1537 in der Matrikel der Universität Tübingen erscheint.
- 110 Über ihn Benzing, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 27), S. 201, mit weiteren Hinweisen. Vgl. auch Alfons Euler, *Die Geschichte der Buchdrucker und Verleger Ingolstadts*, Ingolstadt 1957, S. 14 f.
- 111 Werk Nr. 21.
- 112 Günther Richter, *Verlegerplakate des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des 30 jährigen Krieges*, Wiesbaden 1965.
- 113 *Führer durch das Liebfrauenmünster Ingolstadt*, Ingolstadt 1966, S. 5.
- 114 H. Saalfeld, *Die Verhältnisse an der Ingolstädter Universität um 1550 nach den Berichten des Petrus Canisius*, in : *Zeitschrift für bayrische Kirchengeschichte*, 29 (1960), S. 108 - 112.
- 115 Friedrich Roth, *Der Augsburger Jurist Hieronymus Fröschel und seine Hauschronik um 1528 - 1600*, in : *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*, 38 (Augsburg 1912), S. 6 - 8.
- 116 Hans Winterberg, *Die Schüler von Ulrich Zasius*, Stuttgart 1961, S. 54.
- 117 Brief Nr. 9.
- 118 Brief Nr. 6.
- 119 Brief Nr. 7.
- 120 Werk Nr. 17, Ode VII, Bl. E⁶.
- 121 Ludwig Fischer, *Veit Trolmann von Wemding, genannt Vitus Amerpachius als Professor in Wittenberg (1530 - 1540)*, Freiburg 1926, weist keine Beziehungen zwischen Amerbach und Pedioneus nach.
- 122 Über ihn vgl. Hans Gerstinger, *Johannes Sambucus als Handschriftensammler*, in : *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Wien 1926, S. 263 - 266.
- 123 Pölnitz, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 54), Sp. 643. Gerstinger kann Sambucus erst am 20. Februar 1549 in Ingolstadt nachweisen (a. a. O., S. 265).
- 124 Vgl. oben die Ermahnungen des Pedioneus an Peter Lotichius, die ganz mit den Auffassungen des Johannes Sturm übereinstimmen. Dazu Charles Schmidt, *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm*, Strassburg 1855, S. 279 : "C'est par Cicéron qu'on forme le langage..." Ebenso wie Pedioneus, warnt auch Sturm, "que l'imitation ne doit pas être servile". Fest steht, dass der Ciceroforscher Vitus Amerbach einen Einfluss auf Sambucus ausgeübt hat.
- 125 Pölnitz, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 54), Sp. 644.

- 126 Universitätsarchiv München, D. III. 7 (Senatsprotokoll), Bl. 76. Prantl, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 55), 1. Bd., S. 213, Anm. 286 spricht fälschlich von einer Streitigkeit des Pedioneus mit einem Bürger und seiner Frau.
- 127 Grabschrift (vgl. Anm. 1), S. 118.
- 128 Universitätsarchiv München, D. III. 7, Bl. 184^r.
- 129 Grabschrift (vgl. Anm. 1), S. 118 f. mit deutscher Übersetzung.
- 130 Tross, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 81), S. 33.
- 131 Theobald, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 84), S. 13.
- 132 Voigt, a. a. O. (vgl. Anm. 82), S. 731.
- 133 Vgl. unten Anm. 35.
- 134 Heinrich Wilhelm Rotermund, *Fortsetzungen und Ergänzungen zu Christian Gottlieb Jöchers allgemeinen Gelehrten-Lexikon*, 5. Bd., Bremen 1816, Sp. 1781 f.
- 135 Original in der Stiftsbibliothek Zeitz, Signatur Msc. pag. 42/17. Herrn C. Rother in Zeitz bin ich für die von ihm vorgenommene Kollationierung meiner nach einem Mikrofilm angefertigten Abschrift mit dem teilweise stark verblassten Original zu aufrichtigem Dank verpflichtet.
- 136 *Petri Lotichii Secundi Poemata omnia*, ed. Petrus Burmannus, 2. Bd., Amsterdam 1754, S. 80.
- 137 Widmungsbrief zu Werk Nr. 9.
- 138 Widmungsbrief in Werk Nr. 9, Bl. 45^v - 46^r.
- 139 Widmungsbrief zu Werk Nr. 13.
- 140 Widmungsbrief am Ende von Werk Nr. 17, Bl. E⁷ - E⁸.
- 141 Widmungsbrief zu Werk Nr. 18, Bl. F¹ - F².
- 142 Widmungsbrief zu Werk Nr. 16, Bl. A² - A⁶.
- 143 Widmungsbrief am Ende von Werk Nr. 18, Bl. I² - I³.
- 144 Widmungsbrief zu Werk Nr. 19, Bl. A⁸.

J.W. Binns

WILLIAM GAGER'S DIDO

In June 1583, Albertus Alasco, the Prince Palatine of Siradia in Poland, who had arrived in England on a visit to Queen Elizabeth and her court the previous April, paid a ceremonial visit to the University of Oxford. It was only natural that on this splendid occasion the University should honour the prince in the customary fashion, by the delivery of orations and the performance of academic plays. The Earl of Leicester indeed, as Chancellor of Oxford University, wrote on 13 May 1583 to the Vice-Chancellor to say that he would himself accompany the prince, and that the University should receive the prince with courtesy and solemnity. The prince would arrive on Monday 10 June, and would remain in Oxford throughout the Tuesday and Wednesday following, departing on the morning of Thursday 13 June.¹

The University therefore began to make arrangements for the prince's reception, and a committee was appointed to make the arrangements for the plays which were to be performed at Christ Church, where Albertus Alasco was to be accommodated.² It is not surprising that the committee should have looked to William Gager,³ a member of that college, to supply the plays for the prince's entertainment. Gager had made his *début* as an academic dramatist the previous year in February 1581/2 with the performance at Christ Church of his tragedy *Meleager*, which in a dedicatory letter to the play he describes as his first-born child, and which enjoyed a favourable reputation.⁴

The first evening of Alasco's visit to Oxford, the evening of Monday 10 June 1583, passed without any dramatic entertainment. We are informed by the chronicler Holinshed: "And the first night being vacant, as in which he sought rather rest in his lodging than recreation in anie academicall pastimes, strange fire works were shewed, in the great quadrangle, besides rockets, and a number such maner of deuises."⁵

On the second evening of his visit, the prince was entertained by a performance of Gager's now no longer extant comedy *Rivales*, which was one of his most successful plays, being twice revived for performance on subsequent occasions, once before Queen Elizabeth herself.⁶

Holinshed informs us that on the final evening of his visit, the prince was entertained by "a verie statelie tragedie named *Dido*."⁷

Holinshed's information about the date of the play's performance is confirmed by the manuscript of the play preserved in Christ Church, Oxford (Christ Church MS.486) which has been identified as being in Gager's hand.⁸ The title page of the manuscript states that the tragedy was "Acta in Aede Christi Oxoniae Pridie Idus Iunii A^o D^o 1583." In addition to this manuscript of

the play, Acts II and III of *Dido*, together with the Prologue, Argument, and Epilogue, are contained in Gager's autograph manuscript book in the British Museum.⁹ The play was not printed. F. S. Boas commented "It is remarkable that only two Acts are included in the Museum volume. It will be seen that they handle the epic material more freely than the other Acts, which may possibly be from a different hand."¹⁰ It seems hardly necessary, however, to deny Gager authorship of the whole play merely because only a section of it is to be found in his autograph manuscript book : this contains not a line either of *Meleager*, or of *Ulysses Redux*, plays of which Gager is the undisputed author. The suggestion of C. F. Tucker Brooke,¹¹ that Gager may have copied only two Acts of *Dido* into his manuscript book because considerable portions of the play follow Vergil closely, is more likely.

Dido was probably written with great speed especially for Alasco's visit : the University had been given a little less than a month's notice of his impending arrival. Academic plays longer than *Dido* are known to have been written in a fortnight,¹² and Gager later says that he "poured out rather than wrote" his play *Ulysses Redux*.¹³ The fact that *Dido* is closely based on Vergil's tale of Dido and Aeneas from books I and IV of the *Aeneid*, and that many of Vergil's hexameters are recast as iambic senarii could be a sign of hasty composition. The story of the reception by Dido, a great queen, of Aeneas, a foreign prince, presented some appropriate parallels with Queen Elizabeth's reception of Alasco - although not of course in the outcome of the tragedy. Gager uses the similarity of the situation to pay a courtly compliment to Alasco (Epilogue, 11.33 - 38). This too suggests that the play could have been written especially for the occasion.

But it is also possible that Gager had been experimenting with the dramatisation of certain scenes from the *Aeneid* before he knew of Alasco's forthcoming visit, and that he then incorporated them into a complete play written especially for the occasion. For the material in Gager's British Museum manuscript book seems on the whole to be in chronological order.¹⁴ The Prologue and Epilogue of *Dido* are contained in this volume,¹⁵ and refer to Alasco's visit ; they were thus written for the occasion and copied into Gager's manuscript book some time afterwards. Acts II and III of *Dido* in this volume are preceded by the Prologue and Argumentum, and followed by the Epilogue ; all this material was thus presumably copied into the manuscript book at the same time, some time after May or June 1583. Yet these scenes from *Dido* in Gager's manuscript book appear before two poems which refer to an event of August 1578 :¹⁶ they appear after a poem which Gager signs "Haec transtuli in Artibus Baccalarius" - a method of referring to himself which would be most natural when he had just become a Bachelor of Arts. Gager was admitted to the degree of B.A. on 4 December, 1577 and his degree was confirmed in the Spring of the following year, 1578.¹⁷ If anything can be deduced from the position of the scenes from *Dido* in Gager's manuscript book, then, one would have dated these to sometime between December 1577 and August 1578. It is interesting to note

that the *Dido* scenes are immediately preceded in the manuscript book by the scenes on the Oedipus story, which have been recognised as an early attempt at drama by Gager, and which have been assigned to the early period of Gager's literary career.¹⁸ The position of the Oedipus scenes in Gager's manuscript book would support such a view. It may well be that after this first attempt at the dramatisation of scenes from the classical story of Oedipus, Gager pursued his interest in the dramatic treatment of classical themes by attempting some scenes on the story of Dido and Aeneas : that he brought this interest to fruition with *Meleager* in 1581/2 which was his first complete drama, but that when a new play was required at short notice Gager incorporated into it scenes which he had already drafted some time previously. This would perhaps explain the freer treatment of Vergil which F.S. Boas noticed in Acts II and III. Lines such as Iopas's salutation of Aeneas (Act II, 67 - 82) which in the event gained in significance through the presence of Prince Alasco at the performance need not necessarily have been written with his visit in mind : they fulfil a dramatic function within the play. Or they may have been subsequently added by Gager to an earlier draft, since, whenever written, Acts II and III cannot have been entered into the manuscript book until after arrangements for Alasco's visit were known, surrounded as they are by the prologue and epilogue which refer to his visit. *Dido*, which is about 1300 lines long, is several hundred lines shorter than Gager's other full-length surviving dramas, *Meleager* and *Ulysses Redux*. Gager is indebted to Vergil for many scenes and lines, and these borrowings are pointed out in the commentary. Gager did however add to the play scenes of his own invention - Act I, Scene 2, when Dido discusses with her advisers the best way to ensure the stability of Carthage ; Act II, Scene 4, when Hanno and Maharbal discuss the possibility that Dido may marry Aeneas ; Act III, Scene I, when the ghost of Sychaeus, Dido's former husband, emerges from the underworld to threaten vengeance ; Act III, Scene 3, when Cupid exults over his triumph in having made Dido fall in love with Aeneas ; Act III, Scene 6, when Aeneas discusses with Achates whether he should depart ; and Act IV, Scene 3, when Ilioneus urges Aeneas to listen to Dido.

Each Act ends in a chorus ; in these, in the *Hymn of Iopas* (Act II, Scene I) and in the chorus of the *Nymphae plangentes* (Act III, Scene 2) which was probably sung, as the stage direction, *Nymphae canunt in scena* suggests, Gager displays his competence as a writer of lyrics and adds to the decorative and ceremonial atmosphere of the play. Dramatically, the most interesting part of the play is Dido's last scene in which she curses Aeneas and then kills herself on the stage. It is interesting to note that Gager allows this, whereas in *Meleager*, when Meleager dies, he does so off-stage, and Gager in a stage direction directs that there should be a short pause in order to preserve decorum.¹⁹

It is evident that the play was produced with great splendour and attention to detail. Holinshed has left an account of the performance :

the queenes banket (with Eneas narration of the destruction of Troie) was livelie described in a marchpaine patterne, there was also a goodlie sight of

hunters with full crie of a kennel of hounds, Mercurie and Iris descending and ascending from and to an high place, the tempest wherein it hailed small confects, rained rosewater, and snow an artificiall kind of snow : all strange, marvellous, and abundant.²⁰

The production was splendid enough to be recalled nearly twenty years later by William Percy, who demanded at the end of Act I of his *Aphrodisial* : "Also a showre of Rose-water and confits, as was acted in Christ Church, in Oxford, in Dido and Aeneas."²¹

The expenses of the entertainment were great. Boas records,²² that the bill of accounts included an item of £ 86-18s-2d - a sum worth perhaps fifty times as much in modern English money - for "the chardges of a Comedye and a Tragedye and a shewe of fireworks as appeareth by the particular bill of Mr Vice Chauncelor, Mr Howsone, Mr Maxie and Mr Pille".

The belief that the last named is Gager's friend George Peele,²³ the English dramatist, who was presumably paid for help in producing the plays, has been confirmed by the discovery of another entry in the Christ Church accounts :

Received by me George Peele the XXVIth day of May anno 1583 at the handes of Mr Thomas Thornton Treasurer the some of XX^{li} I say the some of twenty pounds

Geo. Peele²⁴

The production of Gager's plays on this occasion is then an important example of the connexion of a popular dramatist with the academic drama.

That two of his plays should be chosen for performance before Prince Alasco was a signal honour for Gager. It has so far escaped the notice of historians of academic drama that one of the suite attendant upon Prince Alasco was none other than Sir Philip Sidney himself. Prince Alasco was it seems a man of many interests, and on leaving Oxford he continued his journey through England by paying a visit to the mysterious Dr. John Dee, Queen Elizabeth's astrologer (a man who, it may be remarked in passing was at one time in his life interested in academic drama, since he had designed in his youth a stage device for a performance of Aristophanes's *Pax* at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1546).²⁵

Dr. Dee records in his diary for 15 June 1583 :

abowt 5 of the klok cam the Polonian Prince Lord Albert Lasky down from Bissham, where he had lodged the night before, being returned from Oxford whither he had gon of purpose to see the universities, wher he was very honourably used and enterteyned. He had in his company Lord Russell, Sir Philip Sydney, and other gentlemen.²⁶

It seems likely from Dee's account that Sir Philip Sydney had been at Oxford with Alasco, and if this is so, then it is inconceivable that a man of Sir Philip Sidney's interests should have absented himself from the performance of Gager's plays. If Gager's *Rivales* and *Dido* formed part of the theatrical

experience of Sir Philip Sidney, then this only serves to enhance the considerable interest of the occasion, which was in any event memorable both in the annals of academic drama and of William Gager's own career.

The Text.

I have based my edition on the complete Christ Church manuscript of the play, Christ Church MS 486. I have collated the Prologue, Argumentum, Acts II and III and the Epilogue with the text of these parts of the play contained in British Museum Add MS. 22583 ; there are many minor variations of spelling and punctuation between the two manuscripts, together with a few substantive variants. I have usually followed the readings of the Christ Church MS., and recorded the variants in the B.M. MS., including variants in spelling and punctuation, but excluding variants in diacritical accentuation. Nor have I recorded as a variant a word spelt out fully in the one MS. which is abbreviated in the other. In the sections of the play which survive only in the Christ Church MS. I have silently normalised Gager's use of upper and lower case : where a sentence begins in the middle of a line of verse, Gager usually uses lower case, but he sometimes uses upper case. I have retained Gager's spelling of words, modernized long *s*, expanded abbreviations, separated ligatures, adopted the modern usage of *v* and *u*, and printed *j* as *i* throughout. I have silently restored the diaeresis, which Gager sometimes omits, to *Iūlus* and *Iärbas*. Diacritical accents have been removed. I have printed abbreviated speech headings in full and standardised the typography of Act and Scene headings, inserting the latter where necessary. I have silently removed Gager's customary indentation of the first line of each speech in the play. Each Act has been numbered in tens, and the whole play has been numbered in fives.

I am grateful to the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford, for kind permission to reproduce the text of *Dido* from their copy of the manuscript.

Footnotes to the introduction

1. Frederick Samuel Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 179 - 191 gives an account of the prince's visit. He prints the Earl of Leicester's letter on p. 179.
2. Boas, *University Drama* p. 180.
3. On Gager see Boas, *University Drama*, especially pp. 165 - 219 ; and C.F. Tucker Brooke, *The Life and Times of William Gager (1555 - 1622)*, in : *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV (1951), pp. 401 - 431. Of Gager's dramatic works, the two Acts of *Dido* contained in Gager's manuscript book (British Museum Add. MS. 22583) were printed by Rev. Alexander Dyce as an Appendix to his edition of *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* (London, 1865), pp. 391 - 397. Gager's scenes on the Oedipus story, also contained in his manuscript book, were edited by R.H. Bowers, *William Gager's Oedipus*, in : *Studies in Philology*, XLVI (1949), pp. 141 - 153. J.W. Binns edits Gager's *Panniculus Hippolyto Senecae Tragoediae assutus*, *William Gager's Additions to Seneca's Hippolytus*, in : *Studies in the Renaissance*, XVII (1970), pp. 153 - 191. See also J.W. Binns, *William Gager's Meleager and Ulysses Redux, The Drama of the Renaissance : Essays for Leicester Bradner* ed. Elmer P. Blistein (Providence, 1970), pp. 27 - 41. A microfilm of C.F. Tucker Brooke's unfinished edition of Gager's writings, consisting principally of a transcription and translation of Gager's plays and poems, is obtainable from the American Philosophical Society. This has served as a valuable check upon my own work. Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae* (New York, 1940), pp. 61-65 discusses Gager's non- dramatic poems. Gager's long poem *Pyramis* has been edited by C.F. Tucker Brooke, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXXII (1936), pp. 247- 349. C.F. Tucker Brooke also edited some of Gager's shorter poems : *William Gager to Queen Elizabeth*, in : *Studies in Philology*, XXIX (1932), pp. 160-175 and *Some Pre-Armada Propagandist Poetry in England (1585-1586)*, in : *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXXV (1941), pp. 71-83.
4. "cum primogenitus meus esset Meleager" -- *Meleager* (Oxford, 1592) sig.A2v. Gager tells us modestly on sig. A2r. that three years after its first performance, the play was revived, by public demand, for performance before the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney in 1584/5 : *invitatus, publiceque evocatus, secundum prodiit Qua tum approbatione acceptus sit, nec iam memini, nec magni unquam feci : satis ad laudem Meleagro fuit, si qua tamen ea laus sit, quod politissimarum aurium discrimen bis subierit, nullo sane insignis studii dehonestamento.*
5. Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587), III, 1355.
6. See Boas, *University Drama*, pp. 181-182, 197, 255.
7. *Chronicles* (1587) III, 1355.
8. See Walter George Hiscock, *Plays 1548-1945*, in *A Christ Church Miscellany* (Oxford 1946), pp. 171-172, Hiscock does not give the evidence for his view, which may be open to doubt.
9. British Museum Add. MS. 22583, pp. 68-84. These extracts were printed by Rev. Alexander Dyce, op.cit. n.3.
10. *University Drama*, p. 183 n.
11. *Life and Times of William Gager (1555 - 1622)*, op.cit. n.3, 417.
12. William Alabaster, *Roxana* (London, 1632), sig. A3r. writes "morticinum hoc edidi duarum hebdomadarum abortum."
13. "effudi potius quam scripsi" -- *Ulysses Redux* (Oxford, 1592), sig. A1^r (of the Huntington Library copy).

14. e.g., early poems in the volume are signed, (p. 16) *Haec lusi scholaris*, and (p.29) ... *composui scholaris*. and (p. 40) *Haec transtuli scholaris*. (i.e. presumably before Gager graduated). Then we have a poem signed (p. 56) *Haec transtuli in Artibus Baccalaurius*. On pp. 90 - 91 we have poems referring to an event of August, 1578 (see n.16). On p. 112 we have a poem on the death of Archbishop Edmund Grindal, (who died on 6 July 1583) ; on p. 117 there begins a series of epigrams on the names of members of Christ Church as at 25 September 1583 ; and so on throughout the manuscript as far as p. 179, where a poem refers to an event that can be dated, this date is successively later throughout the 1580's and 1590's.
On pp. 179 et seq. appear some English poems which were probably written in Gager's youth, to judge from the *handwriting*, and on pp. 187 - 194 appears a prose *Encomium Eloquentiae* dated 17 January 1583. The volume then concludes with a table of contents followed by two further poems to which no date can be assigned.
15. On pp. 68 and 83 - 84.
16. On pp. 90 - 91 are two poems dealing with the visit of Queen Elizabeth in August 1578 to the home of Sir William Cordell, Gager's uncle, at Long Melford in Suffolk.
17. See C.F. Tucker Brooke, *Life and Times of William Gager (1555 - 1622)*, op. cit. n. pp. 407-408.
18. See R.F. Bowers, *William Gager's Oedipus*, op.cit. n.3, especially p. 144.
19. Aliqua mora sit stipiti cremando, ut in morte Meleagri decorum servetur. -- *Meleager*, sig. D 7r.
20. *Chronicles*, (1587) III, 1355. Holinshed is wrong in a minor detail. See the commentary on II, 25-28 below.
21. Huntington Library MS. HM. 4 f.126. Tucker Brooke points out that Percy could not have seen *Dido* when it was performed before Alasco, as he did not matriculate until 1589. (*Life and Times of William Gager (1555-1622)*, op.cit. n.3, p. 417 n.)
22. *University Drama*, p. 180.
23. Gager alludes to his friendship with Peele in two poems in his British Museum manuscript book, pp. 91-93.
24. See Walter George Hiscock, *Plays 1548-1945*, in *A Christ Church Miscellany* (Oxford, 1946), p. 171.
25. See Charlotte Fell Smith, *John Dee* (London, 1909), and Richard Deacon, *John Dee* (London, 1968), p. 17.
26. *The Private Diary of John Dee*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell. (Camden Society, 1st Series, XIX) (London, 1842) p. 20.

DIDO TRAGOEDIA

Acta in Aede Christi Oxoniae

Pridie Idus Iunii

A^o. D^o. 1583.

Prologus	Chorus
Venus	Ascanius
Cupido	Iopas
Hanno	Anna
Maharbal	Nymphae
Ilioneus	Mercurius
Troiani	Sychaei Umbra
Achates	Nuncia
Aeneas	Barce
	Iris

Epilogus

DIDO, A TRAGEDY

Performed at Christ Church, Oxford,

12 June 1583.

Prologue	Chorus
Venus	Ascanius
Cupid	Iopas
Hanno	Anna
Maharbal	Nymphs
Ilioneus	Mercury
Trojans	Ghost of Sychaeus ;
Achates	A female messenger
Aeneas	Barce
	Iris

Epilogue

Prologus

	Res quaeque fragiles invicem patitur vices :	
	Et ipsa gratam varietas formam parit.	
	Quae saepe fiunt illa cui placeant diu ?	
	Vicissitudo semper oblectat magis.	
	Hesternæ Mopsum scena ridiculum dedit,	5
	Hodiernæ grandem scena materiam dabit.	
	Levis in cothurnum vertitur soccus gravem.	
	Nec gratiora laeta sunt maestis tamen,	
	Nec amara quovis melle delectant minus.	
10	Tulit omne punctum tristitia admiscens iocis,	10
	Ridere forsā aliquis ad fletum potest,	
	Idemque magna flere laetitia potest.	
	Lucunditates lachrimae summas habent.	
	Magna est voluptas flere ubi nihil est mali.	
	Tantum benignas quaeso vos aures date,	15
	Et argumentum, si placet, totum eloquar.	

Argumentum

	Huic Dido clarum fabulae nomen facit :	
	Hic ipsa ad horas regna moderatur duas.	
	Urbs ista Libyci est magna Carthago soli :	
	Iunonis odio per tot Aeneas freta	20

Prologue

Every thing in turn suffers perishable changes : and variety itself produces a pleasing appearance. Whom may those things please for long which often happen ? Change always delights more. Yesterday the stage gave us ridiculous Mopsus. Today's stage will offer us a weighty theme. The light comic slipper is transformed into the heavy buskin. However, neither are happy things more pleasing than sad, nor do bitter things delight us less than any honey. A man who mingles sadness with merriment gains every point. A man can perhaps laugh even to weeping, and again can weep with great happiness. Tears contain great delights. It is a great pleasure to weep when there is nothing amiss. Only, I entreat, lend kindly ears : and if it is your pleasure, I will state the whole argument.

The Argument.

Dido bestows her famous name upon this story. Here she herself governs her kingdom for about two hours. This city is great Carthage of the land of Libya. Aeneas, tossed over so

Iactatus, istis applicat terris ratem.
 Benigna tectis excipit Dido hospitem :
 Sed ante nato chara prospiciens Venus,
 (Tyrios bilingues quippe et ambiguam domum
 Et adhuc furentis odia Iunonis timet) 25
 10 Cupidinem sollicita lascivum rogat,
 Ut ora pueri sumat Ascanii puer,
 Uratque tacita regium pectus face.
 Gerit ille morem : deperit Eliza hospitem.
 Instigat Anna : nemore venatur : dolo 30
 Iunonis, atrum nymbus involvit diem :
 Iunguntur antro. monitus Aeneas, parat
 Abire Lybia : rescit abituri fugam
 Regina, queritur, obsecrat, saevit, furit.
 Immotus ille navigat, iussu Iovis. 35
 20 At Dido, magicos rite constructa pyra
 Simulata cultus, propria dextra occidit.

Actus 1. Scena 1.

Venus. Cupido.

VENUS : Dilecte fili (filium ni te meum
 Pudet vocari, filio quando meo
 Tuoque fratri cernis infensos deos) 40

many seas because of the hatred of Juno, steers his ship to those lands. Dido receives him kindly as a guest in her abode. But before this, dear Venus, watching out for her son's interests (for she fears the treacherous Carthaginians, and the uncertain home, and the hatred of still-raging Juno), anxiously asks wanton Cupid that, as a boy, he should assume the appearance of the boy Ascanius, and should inflame the royal breast with secret fire. Cupid obeys her command. Dido falls desperately in love with her guest. Anna urges her on. They hunt in a grove, and by the craft of Juno, a cloud envelops the black day. They are united in a cave. Aeneas is admonished, and prepares to go away from Libya. The queen finds out about his flight as he is on the point of leaving, complains, beseeches, rages, and is out of her mind. Unmoved, Aeneas sets sail by the command of Jupiter. But Dido, when she has duly built a pyre under the pretence of magic rites dies by her own hand.

Act. 1. Scene 1.

Venus. Cupid.

VENUS : My beloved son (unless it shames you to be called my son, when you

		Si quid parentis cura contemptae movet, Si cura fratris ulla disiecti manet, Si quid iacentis casus, orantis preces Valent (valentque plurimum spero) mihi Pariterque fratri, te pium praesta tuo.	45
10	CUPIDO :	Quid impetrare mater, id verbis studes Quod impetrare filio debes tuo ?	
	VENUS :	Odium cruentae Palladis sensit meus Anchise natus, cum per incensos lares Ignesque Troiae patrios ferret deos, Aliam coactus quaerere, atque alibi domum. Odium Minervae maius excepit malum, Iunonis ira saevit ah saevit nimis Etiam in iacentem, nec satis censet sua Prohibere terra, quaerat ut sedes novas :	50 55
20		Sed urget omnes eius in caedem deos. Qui fraena ventis ponit et laxat, deus Maria ciebat Aeolus, misit Notum, Misit procellis Africum crebrum suis, Totumque ab imis sedibus volvit mare. Proinde vires excita tandem tuas, Dolore te dolere non dubito meo.	60
	CUPIDO :	Addis volenti calcar et stimulos mihi. Tuus est, videre quid velis fieri, labor, Mihi fas capessam iussa, tu iubeas modo	65

perceive that the gods are hostile to my son, your brother), if you have any feeling for your despised parent, if you have any feeling for your brother driven asunder ; if the hardship of one who is suffering, if my prayers as I beseech you have any power (and I hope that they have the greatest), then show yourself dutiful to me and to your brother alike.

CUPID : Mother, why are you striving in speech to gain a request which you ought to gain from your son ?

VENUS : My son, born of Anchises, felt the hatred of cruel Minerva when he bore his native gods through the burning houses and fires of Troy, compelled to seek elsewhere another home. A greater evil has followed the hatred of Minerva : the wrath of Juno rages, ah, it rages excessively against him even when his fortunes are at a low ebb. Nor does she think it sufficient for him to be kept from his own land, so that he must seek a new home, but she urges on all the gods to his slaughter.

Aeolus, the god who imposes and relaxes restraints upon the winds, set the seas in motion, and sent the South wind and the South-west wind crowded with storms, and tumbled the whole sea from its lowest depths.

Arouse therefore your strength at last. I do not doubt that you grieve as I grieve.

CUPID : You spur and arouse me when I am already willing. It is your task to see what you wish to be done. It is right for me to undertake your

- Manus ista tela mittet invitis deis.
- 30 VENUS : Gere quaeso morem, quid velim paucis scies.
 Postquam quievit ventus, et pelagi fragor
 Cecidit : ad illa se recepit littora
 Quae prima vidit. vidit et Libyae solum 70
 Trabes ut aptet, sistit hic laceras rates,
 Reficitque quicquid fregerat ponti furor.
 Ad littus illud ambulanti illi obviam
 Tyriae sub ore virginis memet tuli.
 Aliudque fingens, quaero de causa viae 75
 Virique casu (quae tamen noram prius)
 Simul ad Elizae regiam monstro viam.
- 40 CUPIDO : Quae spes Elizae ? quippe Iunoni favet.
 VENUS : Favet, sed illud antevertit Iupiter,
 In urbe ne quid fiat Aeneae mali. 80
- CUPIDO : Utinam profecto, suspicor Paenos tamen.
 VENUS : Quid suspicare ? misit in terras suum
 Atlante natum, corda qui Paenis fera
 Mollire possit, reddat et Tyrios meis
 Magis hospitales. nescio quo se tamen 85
 Iunonis ira vertet, hospitii domus
 Suspecta debet esse cui Iuno praeest.
- 50 Proinde flammis cinge reginam novis,
 Dolisque falle fac sit Aenaeae mei
 Amore capta, sic erit Dido magis 90

- commands ; do you but order, and this hand will cast its weapons, though the gods are unwilling.
- VENUS : Obey me, I pray. You will know in a few words what I desire. After the wind grew quiet, and the din of the ocean subsided, he betook himself to those shores which first he saw. And he saw the soil of Libya; and here he anchored his battered ships, to repair the masts and he repaired whatever the violence of the ocean had broken. Under the guise of a Carthaginian maiden, I took myself to meet him as he was walking near the shore. Under another pretext, I asked the reason for his voyage, and for his misfortune (which, however, I already knew) ; and at the same time, I showed him the way to Dido's palace.
- CUPID : What hope of Dido ? Surely she favours Juno ?
- VENUS : She favours her ; but Jupiter has anticipated that, lest any evil should befall Aeneas in the city.
- CUPID : Would that it may be so, indeed. However, I suspect the Carthaginians.
- VENUS : Why do you suspect them ? Jupiter has sent his own Mercury, descendant of Atlas into their lands, to soften the hard hearts of the Carthaginians and make them more hospitable to my followers. However, I do not know where the wrath of Juno may turn itself next. The hospitable house over which Juno presides ought to be suspected. Therefore surround the queen with new flames, deceive her with your tricks, and make her fall in love

		Amica nostris, sic erit Iuno magis Placata Teucris.	
	CUPIDO :	quo placet fallam modo ?	
	VENUS :	Adverte ; Elizae gratus Aeneas erit. Trahetque captus vocibus blandis moram, Sociumque Achatem mittet ad naves, ferat	95
60		Ut huc Iúlum, spem patris solam sui, Et dona regum rapta ab Iliacis rogis. Referas ut ora dulcis Aschanii velim. Notosque vultus induas pueri puer. Ut cum suo regina te excipiet sinu	100
		Inter paratas exteris lautas dapes, Cumque osculatur, cum dat amplexus tibi, Spires amorem et ignis inspiret facem.	
	CUPIDO :	Quid vero Iúlo fiet ?	
	VENUS :	Idalium super Montem recondam, et blandulo somno premam	105
70	CUPIDO :	Ne forte nostris medius occurrat dolis. Factum putato mater ut fieri cupis, Simulabo vultus quos iubes, fallam dolo, Fallam veneno, spiritu mittam faces Etiam in medullas, facibus Aetnaeis pares.	110
		Non ipse terris maior Oceanus meos Extinguet ignes, non dabit flammis modum Regina caeli, quamlibet venti deum Accersat, omnes promat et ventos simul. Sed quid moramur ? regia en Dido exiit.	115

		with Aeneas. Thus will Dido be more friendly to our followers, thus will Juno be more reconciled to the Trojans.	
	CUPID :	In what way do you wish me to deceive her ?	
	VENUS :	Listen : Aeneas will be pleasing to Dido. Captivated by her soothing words, he will prolong his stay, and send his comrade Achates to the boats, to bring back Iulus, the only hope of his father, together with the kingly gifts taken from the pyres of Troy. I would like you to assume the countenance of sweet Ascanius, and as a boy assume the boy's known features. So that when the queen clasps you to her bosom, in the midst of the sumptuous feast prepared for the strangers, and when she kisses you, when she gives you embraces, you may breathe love, and breathe into her the fiery torch.	
	CUPID :	What will happen to the true Iulus ?	
	VENUS :	I will hide him on the top of the Idalian mountain, and overwhelm him with soothing sleep, lest by chance he appear in the midst of our deception.	
	CUPID :	Mother, think that the deed is done as you wish it to be done. I will assume the disguise which you command, I will trick her with deceit, with poison. I will send by my breath torches as great as the flames of Etna even into her marrow. The ocean itself greater than the lands shall not put out my fires, the queen of heaven shall not moderate the flames, though she summon the god of the winds, and he send forth all the winds at the same time. But why do we delay ? See Dido comes out from the palace.	

Actus 1. Scena 2.

Dido. Hanno. Maharbal.

- 80 DIDO : Nisi me perire fata voluissent prius,
 Ut pulsa regno quaererem regno locum
 Minus beata dicerer, nusquam mea
 Carthago staret. lapsus illustrem facit,
 Meusque faelix casus, in casu fuit. 120
 Nunc est videndum qui mihi constans status,
 In urbe fiat, quomodo faciam deos
 Adhuc faventes, semper ut faveant mihi.
- HANNO : Quibus obtinetur artibus regnum potens
 Iis tenetur, prima quae fecit deos 125
 Pietas faventes, servat, id praesta modo
 90 Quod praestitisti, nosque securos facis.
 Quancquam timere fecerit praesens malum.
 DIDO : Malum ? quod illud.
- HANNO : quod frequens vulgo sonat.
- DIDO : Quod illud inquam ?
- MAHARBAL : littus ad nostrum ferunt 130
 Venisse naves, sive tempestas eas
 Adegit illuc, sive (quod potius reor)
 Venere fines Marte praedari tuos.
- DIDO : Et hoc et illud quicquid est metuo quidem.
 Quin sciscitatum mittimus causam viae ? 135

Act. 1. Scene 2.

Dido. Hanno. Maharbal.

- DIDO : If the fates had not first wished me to be ruined, so that, driven from my kingdom, I sought a place for a kingdom, I should now be called less blessed, and my Carthage would stand nowhere. My downfall makes me illustrious ; in my fall lay my happy chance. Now I must see how I can establish a constant position in the city, how I can make the still-favouring gods favour me always.
- HANNO : A powerful kingdom is retained by the same arts with which it was obtained : the piety which first made the gods favourable to us, keeps them so ; only show that piety which you have shown, and you will ensure that we are free from care, even though the present evil has made us fear.
- DIDO : Evil ? What evil ?
- HANNO : The one that is on everyone's lips.
- DIDO : What is it, I say ?
- MAHARBAL : They say that ships have come to our shore, whether a storm has driven them here, or whether (which I think more likely), they come to plunder your lands in war.
- DIDO : Whatever it is, the one or the other, I fear it indeed. Why do we not send to enquire the reason for their journey ?

HANNO : Nihil necesse est, ecce venerunt tuam
 100 Vel experiri gratiam notam tuis,
 Vel experiri viribus quantum potes.

Actus 1. Scena 3.

Dido. Ilioneus. Troiani.

DIDO : Quid hoc ? quid iste vester ingressus viri ?
 Quae causa turbae ? qui ? quibus tandem locis 140
 Venistis ? aut quem quaeritis ? nunquid meum
 Patere littus navibus, terram viris
 Nec impetrata, nec rogata (quod sciam)
 Venia putatis omnibus ? nunquid solum
 Probatis ? hospites an hostes vos putem ? 145
 An utrosque ? nempe saepe confundi solent.
 110 Referte paucis, absit a iussis mora.
 ILIONEUS : Regina Dido, cui novam summus deum
 Concessit urbem condere et gentes feras
 Fraenare regni legibus iustis tui, 150
 Nos te per undas flatibus vecti vagis
 Troes, rogamus parce crudeli rates
 Violare flamma, parcito generi pio,

HANNO : It is not at all necessary. See, they have come, either to put to the test
 your well-known favour towards your subjects, or to make trial of your
 strength.

Act 1. Scene 3.

Dido. Ilioneus. Trojans.

DIDO : What is this ? What means this your entry, men ? What is the reason for
 this disturbance ? Who are you ? From what place have you come ? Or
 whom do you seek ? Do you think that our shore lies open to your ships,
 and our land to all your men, when you have neither obtained, nor so far
 as I know, asked, our permission ? Do you put this land to the test ? Are
 we to think of you as guests or enemies ? Or both ? To be sure, they are
 often wont to be confused. Speak in few words ; let our commands meet
 no delay.
 ILIONEUS : Queen Dido, whom the greatest of the gods has permitted to found a new
 city, and to govern the savage tribes with the just laws of your kingdom,

	Propiusque faulrix rebus afflictis veni.	
	Non nos penates venimus Libyco8 fero	155
	Populare ferro, non is incessit furor,	
120	Non ille victos ardor in praeceps tulit.	
	Antiqua tellus (Italam gentes quidem	
	Vocant minores) terra proventu ferax,	
	Rebusque certe bellicis quondam potens,	160
	Inter remotas hinc procul gentes iacet.	
	Hanc nos petentes obruit fluctu maris	
	Nimbos Orion turbidos secum ferens.	
	Totoque quassas dispulit naves freto.	
	Pauci marinis fluctibus pulsi tuas	165
	Intramus oras, rebus adversis opem	
130	A te petentes, prohibet hospitium tuae	
	Tua gens arenae : quod tuae gentis genus ?	
	Quae terra morem tam potest dirum pati ?	
	Humana si nil vota tam duos movent,	170
	Sperate saltem caelitem iustas manus	
	Fandi et nefandi vindices saevos fore.	
	Rex ipse nostrae classis Aeneas fuit	
	Virtute belli clarus, et pacis simul.	
	Quem si tuentur fata, si vitam trahit	175

we, Trojans carried through the waves by the wandering winds, ask you this : refrain from injuring our ships with cruel flame, spare a pious race, and be favourable and propitious to us in times of distress.

We have not come to ravage with cruel steel the household gods of Libya : that fury does not seize us, that madness has not borne us headlong - we who are defeated.

There is an ancient land (the younger nations indeed call it Italian) a land fertile in increase, once indeed powerful in matters of war. It lies at a distance from here amidst peoples afar off.

Whilst we were seeking this, Orion overwhelmed us with a turbulence of the sea, bringing with him stormy clouds. He dispersed our battered ships over the whole sea.

We few, driven by the surging of the sea, enter upon your shores, seeking help from you in our times of distress. Your people prevent us from landing on the shore. What kind of men are your people ? What land can allow such a fearful custom ?

If human prayers have no effect on people so hard, then hope that at least the just hands of the heaven-dwellers will be the harsh avengers of right and wrong.

Aeneas himself was the leader of our fleet, renowned for his virtue both in war and in peace. If the fates defend him, if he still draws breath, and has

140	Nec adhuc silentes tetigit inferni lacus, Dubitare noli, quicquid impendis, metes. Neque paenitebit sis quod officio prior. Quanquam nec omnis Troia cum Troia fuit Extincta : sunt in Siciliae regno viri Troia profecti nominis clari : suum Rex ipse Acestes iactat a nostris genus. Tantum rogamus liceat ut classi trabes Aptare, sylvis stringere et remos tuis, Ut vel incepto rege cum sociis viae Latium petamus, fata quo monstrant iter, Vel spe relicta vasta Sicaniae freta Repetamus, illic rebus afflictis dabit Spem rex Acestes noster et nostris favens.	180
150	TROIANI OMNES : DIDO : Quod ille solus orat, oramus simul. Teucri timorem pellite, et curas graves ; Novitate regni cogor hunc morem sequi. Quis nescit urbem ? nescit Aeneadum genus ? Quis nescit ignes ? bella, virtutes, viros ? Non corda sic obtusa gestamus, neque Tam sol remotos vertit a Tyrii equos ; Quocunque cursum flectitis, Troes, meis Opibus iuvabo, vos et auxilio meo : Quod si manere vultis hic mecum, domus Et urbis usum liberum vobis dabo.	190 195 200
160		

not yet reached the silent pools of Hell, then do not doubt that you shall gather in again that which you expend, nor will you regret coming before him in kindness.

Yet not all Troy perished with Troy : there are in the kingdom of Sicily men of famous name who came from Troy. King Acestes himself boasts of his descent from our ancestors.

All we ask is to be allowed to fit masts to our fleet, and to cut down oars from your trees, so that, having re-joined our king and the companions of his journey, we may seek Latium, whither our fates show the way ; or, abandoning hope, we may seek again the vast strait of Sicily, and there our kinsman king Acestes, favourable to us, will give us hope in our times of distress.

TROJANS : What he alone entreats, we all entreat.

DIDO : Trojans, drive away your fear, and heavy cares. I am compelled to follow this custom through the newness of my kingdom.

Who does not know your city ? Who does not know the race of Trojans ? The fires of Troy ? Their battles, their courage, their heroes ? We do not have hearts so dull, nor does the sun drive his horses so far away from the Carthaginians. Trojans, whithersoever you direct your journey, I will aid you with my resources, and with my help. But if you wish to remain here with me, I will give to you the free use of my house and city.

Mihi nulla Paeni, nulla Troiani nota
 Distincta fiet, lege constabunt pari.
 Utinamque certe vester Aeneas noto
 Simili fuisset actus in terram meam.
 Mittam per omne littus, et quaeram quibus 205
 Aut ille sylvis lateat, aut erret locis.

Actus 1. Scena 4.

Achates. Aeneas. Dido.

170 ACHATES : O nate diva, quid manes ? confer pedem
 Socios receptos, omnia in tuto vides.
 Abest Orontes solus, hunc medio mari
 Fusum per undas vidimus.

AENEAS : recte mones. 210
 Adeamus ergo principem. coram tibi
 Quem quaeris adsum Troius Aeneas, maris
 Ereptus undis, quae solum Libyae secant.
 O sola nostris casibus Princeps favens,
 Et sola praestans rebus afflictis opem. 215
 Quae, quos reliquit improbus Danaum furor
 180 Ignisque Troiae, quos mari fractos vides
 Terraque, egenos omnium hospicio beas.
 Nec urbe solum, sed domo socias tua.
 Dignas referre gratias non est opis 220

I will make no distinction between Trojan and Carthaginian ; they will stand together under an equal law. If only it is certain that your Aeneas has been driven to my land by a similar wind. I will send through all the shore, and I will enquire in what woods he may be concealed, or in what places he may wander.

Act 1. Scene 4.

Achates. Aeneas. Dido.

ACHATES : O son of a goddess, why do you tarry ? Come with me, and see our friends recovered, and all things safe. Orontes alone is missing ; we saw him hurled through the waves in mid-ocean.

AENEAS : You admonish me rightly. Let us therefore approach the queen. I, whom you seek, Trojan Aeneas, am in your presence, snatched from the waves of the sea which cleave the Libyan coast.
 O queen, who alone favour our fate, and alone offer us help in our times of distress ; who make happy by your hospitality those who have survived the wicked rage of the Greeks and the fire of Troy, whom you see subdued by sea and land, and destitute of everything : you share not only your city but your home with us. It is not in our power, O queen, to repay the

		Regina nostrae, nec potest quicquid manet Orbe in Troiae consequi tantum bonum. Tibi dii potentes (si dei curant pios Minus potentes, si valent iustae preces, Si possit ullus esse iusticiae locus) 225 Meritis rependant praemia (ut debent) tuis. 190 Quae te tulerunt laeta mundo saecula ? Tantique talem qui dederunt principes ? Donec profundum flumina in pontum cadent, Dum terra pascet arbores, stellas polus : 230 Tuas tuique nominis laudes canam. Et una vestri reddet oblitum dies Et una nostri : quando me reddis meis (Quos esse salvos laetor, amplector lubens) Mihi me deesse malo quam laudi tuae. 235
200	DIDO :	Quis te per ista casus insequitur mala ? Quae vis et oras cogit immanes sequi ? Generis et urbis nomen agnosco tuae. Sidona Teucer cum veniret, rettulit Et hostis hostes laude non parva tulit ; 240 Ductumque dixit Teucer a Teucris genus. Quare subite vos meam, iuvenes, domum Per non minores me quidem similis tulit Fortuna casus, et tamen regnum dedit. Mala passa, rebus laeta succurro malis. 245
	AENEAS :	Morem geremus nobilis Dido tibi.

		thanks that are due, nor can all that remains in the world of Troy attain such a good. May the powerful gods repay to you the reward for your deserts as they should, if the gods have any care for those who are dutiful, yet who can do little ; (if just prayers prevail, if there can be any place for justice.) What happy ages bore you for this world ? What great princes gave birth to such a child ? As long as rivers shall flow into the mighty ocean, as long as the earth shall bear trees, and the sky stars, I shall sing your praises and the praises of your name. The day which makes me forgetful of you will make me forgetful of myself. Since you return me to my friends (whom I rejoice are safe, and joyfully embrace) I had rather fail myself, than be wanting in your praise.
	DIDO :	What fate pursues you through those evils ? What power compels you to follow the wild shores ? I recognise the name of your race and city. When Teucer came to Sidon, he reported it, and though an enemy, he spoke of his enemies with no small praise. Teucer said that his race was descended from the Trojans. Therefore enter my house, O youths. A like fortune has borne me too through mishaps not the less, and yet gave me a kingdom. Having suffered affliction, I am happy to give aid to those in trouble.
	AENEAS :	We will obey your command, noble Dido.

Chorus.

210	Fertur incerto pede sors in altum Tollit, et rursus premit, ima summis Aequat, in partem levis hanc et illam. Addit afflictis mala rebus, urget Quos videt pronos, sequiturque partem Deteriorem	250
220	Fata cum fati inimica pugnant, Sunt in hac causa superi faventes, Sunt in hac causa superi furentes, Nec premunt omnes pariter nec adsunt Omnibus omnes.	255
	Est in extremis mora nulla rebus, Quod nequit peius fieri, recedit, Spem dat afflictis sine spe fuisse : Et salus victi sine spe salutis Dicitur esse.	260
	Nox diem, solem nebulae reducunt : Laeta succedunt ubi dura cedunt : Heu fuit clamor pelagi, sed intus Io triumphat.	265

Chorus.

Chance is high exalted with step uncertain. It upraises and then overwhelms ; it makes equal the lowest and the greatest, fickle both on this side and on that. It presses hard upon those whom it sees prostrate, and follows the worse course.

When the hostile fates fight with the fates, the gods above in this cause show favour, in that one, fury. They do not all overwhelm equally, nor are they all present to all men.

We cannot remain in times of extreme distress. A situation which can become no worse, gets better. To have been without hope gives hope to the afflicted, and the salvation of the conquered is said to be to lack the hope of salvation.

Night gives way to day, the clouds to sunshine ; happy circumstances follow when harsh ones depart. Heigh ho ! The crashing of the ocean is past, and there is now inside, hurrah, a triumph.

Actus 2. Scena 1.

Dido. Aeneas. Ascanius (falsus.)

DIDO : Quin, hospes, ista missa faciamus magis :
 Olim iuvabit quod fuit durum pati
 Meminisse, curas interea menti excute.
 Instructa dapibus mensa nos eccum manet. 270
 Accumbe quaeso ; Bacchus aerumnas levet.
 Magnanime Princeps, si foret suasum tibi
 Quam gratus aulam veneris nostram advena,
 Nec non Iūlus pariter, et comites viae,
 Non dico Troia penitus excideret tibi 275
 10 Sedesque patriae, laetior certe fores.
 AENEAS : Regina, gentis candidum sydus tuae,
 Non lingua nostri pectoris sensum explicet :
 Non vultus animum : laetitia gestit levis
 Ingens stupescit, seque non capiens silet. 280
 Quis tam benignae verba Reginae satis
 Vultusque placidos referat ? et miseris fidem
 Opemque nostris rebus extremis datam ?
 Quis apparatus regios digne efferat
 20 Luxusque tantos ? ista meditantem tua 285
 Promerita, si me cogites, laetum putes.

Act. 2. Scene 1.

Dido. Aeneas. (the feigned) Ascanius.

DIDO : Nay, guest, let us rather lay aside these matters. One day it will please you
 to remember what it was hard to endure. Meanwhile, cast out cares from
 your mind. See, the table lain with banquets awaits us. Lie down, I pray.
 Wine will lighten your distress.
 O magnanimous prince, if you were persuaded how welcome a stranger
 you have come to our court, together with Iulus likewise, and the
 companions of your journey, I do not say that you would utterly forget
 Troy and the regions of your native land, but you would certainly be
 happier.
 AENEAS : O queen, dazzling star of your nation, my tongue cannot express the
 feeling of my heart, nor my face my mind. A light happiness exults, a great
 one is stupefied and, unable to take hold of itself, is silent. Who can
 sufficiently make an answer to the words and calm features of so kind a
 queen, her trust to the wretched, and her help given in our times of
 extremity ? Who can worthily proclaim the royal magnificence and such
 splendour ? If you imagine that I am thinking upon those your deserts,
 then you may think me happy.

- DIDO : Non ista tanti agnosco quae memoras bona.
 Equidem esse cupio, fateor, et spero assequi
 Ut non Elisae pigeat Aeneam hospitis.
 Sed cur Iūlus tristior spectat dapes ? 290
- ASCANIUS : Urbs ista Troiae praebuit speciem mihi,
 Animumque misero subiit aspectu dolor :
 Quae nocte genitor retulit hesternā altius
 Hic breviter oculis subiici videas tuis.
- DIDO : Iūle, quaeso repete fortunam Illi. 295
- 30 ASCANIUS : Hanc esse Troiam finge quam patera vides.
 Hac Simois ibat fluvius, hic densis sita est
 Mons Ida silvis, hac stetit Tenedos via,
 Hac Cilla, Chryse, quaeque circuitu undique
 Urbes minores dirutae bello iacent. 300
 Hic mille ratibus hostium statio fuit.
 Hic castra campus inter hic pugnae iacet.
 Hos esse magnos Pergami muros puta,
 Haec porta Scaea est, Hector hac solitus ferox
 Turmas in aciem ducere, hic Priami lares, 305
 Hic patris, illic steterat Anchisae domus.
 Hic parte muri diruta, insidiis equi
 Ingens in urbem panditur mediā via.
 Hic caepta caedes. plura quid fari queam ?
 Post multa tandem funera, et strages virum 310

- DIDO : I do not think that those blessings which you mention are of such value. Truly, I confess that what I wish and hope to obtain, is that Aeneas shall not be displeased at Dido's hospitality. But why does Iulus watch the feast rather sadly ?
- ASCANIUS : That city showed me the likeness of Troy, and at the wretched sight, grief entered my mind. Those things which my father recalled, profoundly last night, you may see here briefly presented before your eyes.
- DIDO : O Iulus, tell me I pray the fortune of Troy.
- ASCANIUS : Imagine that this dish which you see is Troy. Here was the river Simois, here is situated Mount Ida with its thick woods ; along this way stood Tenedos, along here Cilla, Chryse, and whatever lesser cities all around lie ruined in war. Here was the anchorage of the thousand ships of the enemy. Here lies the field of battle, between these camps. Suppose that these are the great walls of Troy, and that this is the Scaean gate from which brave Hector was wont to lead his squadrons into battle. Here was the home of Priam, here of my father ; there stood the house of Anchises. Here, when part of the wall had been knocked down, because of the trickery of the horse an extensive way opens into the middle of the city. Here the slaughter began. What more can I say ? After many deaths, and much

	Sic est Sinonis fraude, sic Danaum face Incensa, sic est in leves cineres data.	
DIDO :	O quam stupendi specimen ingenii datum ? O te beatum prole generosa patrem, Et te parente filium tali editum.	315
50	Divinam, Iúle, sequere naturae indolem Laudes parentis bellicas opto tibi, Senemque precor aetate transcendas avum. Et hoc amoris osculum pignus cape.	
ASCANIUS :	Quin oscularis filium, genitor, tuum ?	320

Hymnus Iōpae.

	Quod tibi nomen tribuam deorum ? Sive te Martem, Lyciumve Phaebum, Herculem seu te Iove procreatum Dicere fas est.	
60	Sive digneris titulo minore, Teque mortalem placeat vocari, (At deum certe poteris videri Sanguine cretus.)	325
	Quas tibi dicam celebremve laudes ? Quo mihi fas est resonare plectro ? Quod decet tanto memorare carmen Principe dignum ?	330

	slaughter, thus was Troy burnt by the guile of Sinon , by the torch of the Greeks, thus was it reduced to tiny ashes.	
DIDO :	Oh, what an example of your wonderful talent you have shown us ! O father blessed with a noble offspring, and you, O son, born from such a father - Iulus, follow the divine talent of your nature ! I desire for you the warlike praises of your father, and I pray that you may surpass your old grandfather in age ; and take this kiss as a pledge of my love.	
ASCANIUS :	O father, why don't you kiss your son ?	

The Hymn of Iopas.

What name of the gods shall I bestow upon you ?
Whether it is right to call you Mars, or Lycian Apollo, or Hercules, born of Jupiter.

Or whether you merit a lesser title, and it please you to be called mortal, it certainly seems as if you were born from the blood of the gods.

What praises shall I sing to you or celebrate ? On what lyre is it right for me to resound ? What song worthy of such a prince is it right to recall ?

	Splendor heroum, patriaeque lumen Inclitum, salve, generisque prisci : Non tua nostras tetigit carina	335
70	Gratior oras.	
	Sis licet tantus superesque nostri Pectoris captum, tamen est Elisa Maior, o hospes nimium beate	
	Hospite Elisa.	340
	Est minor nemo nisi comparatus : Neve te dici pudeat minorem, Nil videt nostrae simile aut secundum	
	Orbis Elisae.	
	Cynthiae qualis nitor inter astra : Talis in terris decor est Elisae. Ecce cui gratus patria relictâ	345
80	Veneris hospes.	
	Proximas illi tamen occupasti Nominis laudes, sequerisque iuxta, Proximos illi tibi vox Iopae	350
	Cantat honores.	
	Vinciant pictae cyathos coronae, Nobili Bacchus statuatur auro, Maximi fiant strepitus per aulam,	355
90	Iussit Elisa.	

Hail, O splendour of heroes, famous glory of your native land and ancient race, no more welcome ship than yours has touched our shores.

Although you are so great, and surpass the powers of comprehension of my heart, yet is Dido greater - O guest too too blessed, in being the guest of Dido !

No-one is the less unless a comparison is made, and let it not shame you to be called the less, the world has seen nothing like or second to our Dido. As the radiance of the moon amidst the stars, so on earth is the glory of Dido. See to whom you have come a welcome guest, leaving your lands.

You however have obtained the praises for your name after hers ; you are the next in order : to you the voice of Iopas sings honours after her.

Let painted garlands entwine the goblets, let wine be served in tankards of gold, let the greatest noise resound throughout the court ; Dido has commanded it.

Hospes illustris tibi gratulamur,
Iam iuvat longos geminare plausus,
En tibi laetae volitant per ampla
Atria voces.

360

Actus 2. Scena 2.

Dido. Aeneas.

	DIDO :	Dux magne Teucrum, quae tibi placeant dapes ?	
	AENEAS :	Nec hae, nec illae sed placent cunctae mihi. Epulas in epulis in cibis quaero cibos, Et copia meum tanta delectum impedit.	
100	DIDO :	Non ista Priami regna ; non Carthaginis Hospicia Troiae fecerim paria tuae. Sed tenuis aures pepulit hic rumor meas Quaedam fuisse fata secreta Ilii, Quaenam illa fuerint, Hospes, exponas precor.	365
	AENEAS :	Regina, variis illa numerantur modis. In his reponi Troili lethum solet ; Scissumque Scaeae limen, atque Helenus sacer, Rhesique equorum raptus, et Pirrhus simul. Sed prima Troiae fata memorantur duo : Flavae sacratum Palladis signum deae,	370 375

Illustrious guest, we rejoice for you, now it pleases us to double our long
applause ; see, happy voices echo in your honour through the spacious
chambers.

Act 2. Scene 2.

Dido. Aeneas.

	DIDO :	Great leader of the Trojans, which banquets please you ?
	AENEAS :	Neither these nor those, for all of them please me. I seek banquets upon banquets, and course after course, and such profusion hinders my choice.
	DIDO :	This is not the kingdom of Priam. I could not make the hospitality of Carthage equal to your Troy. But a vague rumour has come here to my attention, that there were certain secret fates of Troy. I pray now, my guest, tell me what they were.
	AENEAS :	O queen, they are numbered in various ways. The death of Troilus is usually reckoned amongst these, and the torn threshold of the gate of Scaea, and holy Helenus, and the seizing of the horses of Rhesus, and Pyrrhus too. But the first fates of Troy are said to be two- the sacred sign

110		Et cum sagittis arcus et pharetra Herculis.	
	DIDO :	Quod hoc Minervae quaeso simulachrum fuit ?	
	AENEAS :	Cum dives Asiam regeret, et muros novi Exstrueret Ilus Ilii, festo die	
		Cecidisse caelo fertur, huc illuc means,	380
		Colum sinistra, spiculum dextra tenens, Habituque toto bellicam referens deam, Obstupuit Ilus, consulit Phaebum pius. Consultus ille, tale responsum dedit.	
		In hoc ruina stabit et Troiae salus.	385
120		Servate tectis, urbe cum vestra, deam, Ablata, secum tollet imperium loci. Ast Ilus arcem Palladi sacram extruit, Caeleste tuto collocat signum loco, Additque vigiles. nec quidem haeredi minor	390
		Pervenit inde cura, Laomedon, tibi. At heu parum servata sub Priamo fuit. Hoc ipsa voluit Pallas, ex illo die Quo forma victa est Paridis arbitrio, furens.	
	DIDO :	Quis machinator facinoris tanti extitit ?	395
130	AENEAS :	Furtis Ulisses aptus, et natus dolo Dum per cloacas abditam quaerit viam.	
	DIDO :	Quin et secundum Pergami fatum explica.	
	AENEAS :	Arsurus illo natus Alcmena rogo Quo victor astra petiit, et superum domos :	400

		of Pallas the golden-haired goddess, and the bow and quiver of Hercules with his arrows.	
	DIDO :	What, I pray, was this image of Minerva ?	
	AENEAS :	When rich Ilus was ruling Asia, and was building the walls of a new Ilium, on a solemn day, it is said that wandering hither and thither, it fell from heaven, carrying a distaff in the left hand, and a javelin in the right, in all appearance resembling the warlike goddess. Ilus was struck with astonishment, and dutifully consulted Apollo. He, when consulted gave this reply. "In this lies the destruction and salvation of Troy. Preserve the goddess under your roofs, and at the same time preserve your city. When she is borne away, she will take with her the power of the place." Ilus builds a sacred citadel to Pallas, and places the heavenly sign in a safe place, and arranges guards. Nor indeed was there any less care on your part, Laomedon, his heir. But, alas, it was too little preserved under Priam. Pallas herself wished this, from the day on which she was in rage beaten in beauty by the judgement of Paris.	
	DIDO :	Who stood out as the contriver of such a deed ?	
	AENEAS :	Ulysses, apt for thefts, and born to guile, when he seeks a hidden way through the sewers.	
	DIDO :	Nay, tell me of the second fate of Troy.	
	AENEAS :	The son of Alcmena, placed to burn on the funeral pile on which as a	

	Paeante genite, dixit, hoc munus cape :	
	Arcumque dono pariter et pharetram dedit	
	Gravidam sagittis : arguunt tela Herculem.	
DIDO :	Quis hoc Pelasgis aperuit fatum deus ?	
AENEAS :	Et hoc et illud proximum Phaebo caput	405
140	Monstravit Helenus, ipse fatorum mora.	
	Hic captus Ithaci fraude sic Danaïs sacra	
	Resolvit ora, Delio plenus deo.	
	En hic sagittis restat Alcidae labor	
	Supremus, illum fata rapuerunt licet,	410
	At interesse gloriae haeredem iubent.	
	Nec minima tanti pars erit facti Hercules.	
	Non ante Troia poterit aequari solo	
	Priamique regnum, quam Philoctetes gravi	
	Serpentis ictu saucius, Lemno exulans	415
150	In castra veniat, ut ducum strage edita	
	Cruore arundo madeat Herculea Phrigum.	
	Ne quid geratur arduum, dempto Hercule.	
	En ista Troiae summa fatorum fuit.	

(Pompa larvalis.)

	victor he sought the stars and the abodes of the gods, said "Son of Poëas, take this gift." He gave him as a gift the bow and the quiver as well, heavy with arrows. The weapons prove that he was Hercules.
DIDO :	Which god showed this fate to the Greeks ?
AENEAS :	Helenus, the man next to Phoebus, showed them the one and the other, himself the hindrance of the fates. He was captured by the trickery of the Ithacan, and when possessed by the Delian god, opened his holy mouth to the Greeks. "Lo, here there remains the last task for the arrows of Hercules ; even though the fates have snatched him away they order an heir for his glory. Nor will Hercules be the smallest part of such a deed. Troy and the kingdom of Priam cannot be levelled to the ground, until Philoctetes, seriously wounded by the bite of a serpent, and exiled to Lemnos, comes to the camp ; so that with slaughter of leaders his Herculean arrow may be soaked with the blood of Trojans. Let nothing difficult be undertaken when Hercules is absent."
	See, that was the final fate of Troy.

(A masked procession.)

Actus 2. Scena 3.**Dido. Ascanius.**

DIDO :	Rector deorum Iupiter et hominum sator, (Nam iura te loquuntur hospitibus dare) Si rite pateram solitus hanc Belus tibi Implere vino, et quisquis a Belo minor, Hanc esse Tyriis pariter, et Teucris diem Iucundam ; et huius posteros olim velis Meminisse nostros : Bacche laetitiae dator Adsis, et alma Iuno iam Phrygibus bona. Et o faventes esto vos Tyrii precor, (Libat Iovi.)	420 425
ASCANIUS :	Regina, tandem quaeso tollantur dapes. Satis epularum, luxui satis est datum. Inambulando membra relevemus precor.	430
DIDO :	Mos tibi geretur, tollite ministri ocyus. Interea laeto personet cantu domus Nos inferamus regiis hortis gradum.	

Act. 2. Scene 3.**Dido Ascanius.**

DIDO :	O Jupiter, ruler of the gods, and father of men (for they say you lay down the laws of hospitality) if Belus and every descendant of Belus have been accustomed dutifully to fill this dish with wine for you, may you wish this day to be happy to Carthaginians and Trojans alike, and our descendants to remember it hereafter. Bacchus, giver of happiness, be present, and dear Juno, now kind to the Phrygians ; and, O men of Tyre, be favourable, I pray. (She makes a libation to Jove).
ASCANIUS :	O queen, I entreat, let the feasts be removed at last. There have been banquets enough, magnificence enough. Let us relax our limbs by walking up and down, I pray.
DIDO :	Your wish will be obeyed. Servants, clear away quickly. Meanwhile let the house resound with happy song. Let us betake ourselves to the royal gardens.

Actus 2. Scena 4.

Maharbal. Hanno.

170	MAHARBAL :	Ut vereor, Hanno, quem ferent ista exitum Hospitia ? si (quod omen avertat Deus) Quod saepe factum, iamque ne fiat precor, Si deperiret hospitem Dido novum, Quae bella ? quas hae nuptiae turbas darent ?	435
	HANNO :	At tu Maharbal quem tibi fingis metum ? Nolo oscitantem, nolo prudentem nimis. Quae bella vates (illa fac nubat) canis ?	440
180	MAHARBAL :	Tantumne Iarbas dedecus inultum feret Furens adhuc amore ? quid Libyae duces Quos illa toties sprexit, impune hospitem In regna recipi, despici indigenas sinent ?	445
	HANNO :	Si tu, Maharbal, exigi miserum putes Licito iuventam ducat ut vacuum toro Regina, pollens opibus, aetate integra, Tuove potius nubet arbitrio an suo ? An magis Iarbae ? lege si tali velim Rex esse moriar : coniugem nolo eripi, Nolo imperari, gravius hoc multo reor. Nam quas Iarbae ? quas refert regum minas ? Ducente Tyrias Troico turmas duce, Carthago clarum gentibus caput efferet.	450 455
190			

Act 2. Scene 4.

Maharbal. Hanno.

MAHARBAL :	How I fear, Hanno, the result of this hospitality. If, (and may God avert the omen), Dido - a thing which has often happened, and which I now pray may not happen - if Dido were to fall desperately in love with her new guest, then what wars, what confusion would that marriage bring ?
HANNO :	But Maharbal, what fear are you imagining ? I don't like a listless man ; I don't like a man to be too prudent. O prophet, what wars do you foretell supposing she should marry ?
MAHARBAL :	Would Iarbas, raging still with love, bear such a disgrace unavenged ? What of the Libyan leaders, whom she has so often spurned ? Will they allow a stranger to be received into the kingdom with impunity, whilst natives are despised ?
HANNO :	If you think, Maharbal, that it is wretched that a queen powerful in resources, in the prime of life, should spend her youth without the enjoyment of the licit bonds of marriage, is she to marry rather in accordance with your will or with her own ? Or with Iarbas's rather ? I would die, if I were willing to be king under such a law. I am unwilling that she should lose her husband, I am unwilling that she should be ruled ; I think that that is much more serious. For what do these threats of Iarbas and the king which you mention amount to ? If a Trojan leader leads the

MAHARBAL : At subeat animo quae sit hospitibus fides
 Habenda : Theseus doceat Ariadnae malo,
 Iason Medae : trita peregrinis fuga est.
 HANNO : Ah ne duorum scelera sint culpa omnium. 460
 Sed maesta vultus exiit Dido foras.
 At nos secreto tecta repetamus gradu.

Actus 2. Scena 5.

Dido Anna.

DIDO : Quae me Anna dubiam somnia exterrant soror ?
 Quis iste nuper sedibus nostris novus
 Successit hospes ? ore quem sese ferens ? 465
 200 Quam fortis alto pectore, armisque inclitus ?
 Equidem soror (nec vana credentis fides)
 Genus esse divum credo : degenerem arguit
 Animum timor : quot ille perpressus mala
 Terra marique ? bella quae gessit ferox ? 470
 Si non sederet in animo fixum mihi,
 Ne cui iugali lege sociari velim,
 Postquam mariti morte deceptam mei
 Amor fefellit primus, et taedae mihi
 Si non perosae penitus, ac thalami forent, 475

squadrons of Carthage, Carthage will bear a renowned name amongst the nations.

MAHARBAL : But think how much faith we can place in guests. Let Theseus teach you by the wrong he did to Ariadne, let Jason by his wrong to Medea. Flight by strangers is common.

HANNO : Ah, let not the sins of two be accounted the fault of all. But Dido with sad face has come out of doors. Let us go inside unnoticed.

Act 2. Scene 5.

Dido. Anna.

DIDO : O sister Anna, what dreams frighten me in my doubt ? Who is that new guest who has come to our abode ? With what countenance does he bear himself ? How brave in his lofty breast, and renowned in arms ? Truly, my sister, I believe that he is of the race of the gods, nor is the faith of my belief vain. Fear is a sign of a degenerate mind. How much hardship by land and sea has he endured ? What wars has he fiercely waged ? If it were not my fixed intention not to wish to be allied to anyone by the bonds of marriage, since love first betrayed me when I was cheated by the death of my husband ; and if marriage torches and marriage chambers were

210	Huic forsā uni cederem culpae libens. Sed vel dehiscat ante mihi tellus precor, Vel pater ad umbras fulmine omnipotens agat Pallentis umbras Erebi, et horrendam Styga, Quam tuo resolvam iura, te violem, pudor.	480
	Me primus ille qui sibi iunxit, meos Abstulit amores, habeat is secum, et suo Servet sepulchro : nemo levitatem arguat.	
ANNA :	O chara magis hoc lucis aspectu soror, Semperne maerens caelibem vitam exiges ?	485
220	Nunquamne veneris pignora, et licitos thoros Dulcesque natos noveris ? id tu putas Curare manes ? esto, nulli aegram viri Flexere quondam, non tua spretus Tyro Nobilis Iārbas, gentis et Libiae duces,	490
	Et quos abundans Africa triumphis alit : Etiamne amori sola pugnabis deo ? Nec quorum in arvis degis in mentem venit ? Hinc Marte gens invicta Getuli truces Numidaeque cingunt, hinc regio squalens siti	495
230	Et vasta Syrtis : inde Barcaeī premunt Late furentes : bella quid dicam Tyro Iam nascitura ? quid graves fratris minas ? Iunonis equidem, et caelitum auspiciis reor Huc detulisse Dardanas, ventum rates.	500

not utterly hateful to me, I would perhaps freely yield to this one fault. But I pray, may the earth first gape open for me, or the all-powerful father drive me with his thunderbolt to the shades, to the shades of pale Erebus, and the awful Styx, before, O modesty, I break your laws, and violate you. He who first joined me to himself took away my affections. May he have them with himself, and keep them in his tomb. Let no-one accuse me of fickleness.

ANNA : O sister, more dear than the light of day, will you always lead in mourning a single life ? Will you never know the pledges of love, and lawful marriage and sweet children ? Do you think that the shades care about that ? Suppose that no men have swayed you in your frailty before, not the noble Iarbas, spurned in your Tyre, nor the leaders of the Libyan nation, and those whom Africa abounding in triumphs nourishes. Will you alone fight against the god of Love ? Has it not occurred to you in whose territory you are living ? Here the savage Gaetuli, a nation unconquered in war, and the Numidians surround you ; here, a region parched with drought and the vast Syrtes ; on that side the Barcaeans bear down, raging far and wide. What shall I say of the wars that are in preparation in Tyre ? What of the grave threats of your brother ? I believe that it is through the auspices of Juno and the dwellers in heaven that the wind has borne hither the Trojan ships. O sister, what a city will you see rising in how short a

	Germana, quam tu, quam brevi, hanc urbem tuam Quae regna cernes surgere Aenea duce ? Comitante Teucro milite, ut se Punica Nomen per orbem gloria attollet tuum ?	
240	DIDO : Non ista nostrum quae refers animum latent. Et iam fatebor, Anna ; post miserum mei Fatum Sichaei, et caede fraterna impie Sparsos penates, solus hic sensus meos Flexit, animumque cardine labantem impulit, Primasque flammae veteris agnosco notas. Sed dubius animum distrahit nostrum timor Pudorque ; voti quam mei spem das soror ?	505
250	ANNA : Germana, tantum posce tu veniam deos. Sacris litatis, hospiti indulge novo. Causas morandi necte, dum pelago gravis Desaevit hiemis ira, dum quassae rates, Dum non sereno murmurant venti polo.	515
	DIDO : Satis est : amori subdis ardenti faces. Laxabo fraena ; stultus excedat pudor. Cras demereri victima crebra deos, Pacemque in extis quaerere statutum est mihi. Tibi vacca Cereri pariter, et Baccho cadet. Longe ante reliquos sacra Iunoni feram, Cui coniugalis vincla sunt curae tori.	520

	time, what kingdoms, if Aeneas were leader. With Trojan soldiery at your side, to what heights will Carthaginian glory raise your name throughout the world !	
DIDO :	What you say does not escape my mind. And now I will confess, Anna, that after the wretched fate of my Sychaeus, and my household gods impiously bedewed with kindred slaughter, Aeneas alone has swayed my affections, and driven on my mind, which was becoming unhinged ; and I recognise the first signs of the old flame. But a doubtful fear and shame divide my mind. What hope do you give me as concerning my vow, sister ?	
ANNA :	Sister, ask but pardon of the gods ; and when you have offered an acceptable sacrifice, be courteous to your new guest. Contrive reasons for delay, whilst the fierce anger of winter rages on the sea, whilst his ships are shaken, and the winds murmur in the troubled heavens.	
DIDO :	It is enough ; you supply the torches to my ardent love ; I will free the reins, let my foolish modesty depart. Tomorrow it is my intention to lay the gods under an obligation with many a victim, and to seek peace in the entrails. A calf will be sacrificed to you, Ceres, to you, Bacchus, as well. But I will offer sacrifices to Juno above all, since she has a care for the bonds of the marriage bed.	

Chorus.

	Eheu, Dido, miseret nos tui.	525
260	O ignarae vatum mentes.	
	Quid iuvat aras tangere supplicem ?	
	Nulla iuvabunt vota furentem	
	Exedit intus flamma medullas :	
	Tacitum vivit pectore vulnus.	530
	Dido miseris uritur ignibus.	
	Totaque furens urbe vagatur,	
	Missa qualis cerva sagitta,	
	Quam procul inter Cressia fixit	
	Nemora incautam pastor, et inscius	535
270	Medio liquit pectore ferrum,	
	Maerens silvas illa petit fuga	
	Lateri stridens haeret arundo.	
	Nunc per muros demens hospitem	
	Secum Aeneam ducit Elisa.	540
	Nunc Sidonias ostentat opes	
	Urbemque novam : cupit effari	
	Et mox media voce resistit	
	Nunc Iliacos audire expetit	
	Illa labores, nunc convivium	545
280	Eadem quaerit labente die.	
	Non iam caepae surgunt turre,	
	Non exercent iuvenes arma,	
	Non iam bello tela recondunt ;	
	Portusve parant, cessant opera,	550
	Pendent altae murorum minae.	
	O quis superum tanta clemens	
	Peste furentem solvat Elisam ?	

Chorus

Alas, Dido, we pity you. O unknowing minds of prophets ! What is the use of touching the altars as a suppliant ? No vows will help one who is raging. Flames consume her marrow inside her, and a silent wound lives in her breast.

Dido is burned with wretched flames, and wanders raging through the whole city. Like a hind hit by an arrow, which a shepherd transfixes unawares in the groves of Crete, and unknowingly leaves the iron in the middle of its heart ; the hind sorrowfully seeks the woods in flight, and the hissing arrow clings to its side.

Now Dido herself madly leads her guest Aeneas along the walls ; now she shows him the wealth of Carthage and the new city. She wishes to speak, and then stops in mid-voice. Now she desires to hear of the sufferings of Trojans, and now at the close of day she seeks banquets.

The towers that have been begun no longer rise ; the young men no longer practise their weapons, no longer do they plunge their weapons in war, or prepare harbours. Work stops, and the high pinnacles of the walls hang suspended. O which merciful god above will deliver Dido as she rages with such bane ?

Actus 3. Scena 1.

(Transeunt ad venationem.)

Sichaei Umbra.

Tellure scissa, per vias saxo asperas
 Maestum Sichaeus Tartaro gressum extuli. 555
 Atram sinistra praeferens taedam, novis
 Thalamis Elisae, coniugis quondam meae.
 Nam quae sub imas fama mihi terras venit ?
 Amore Teucris furere Didonem hospititis ?
 In media recipi regna peregrinum ? loco 560
 Viri esse ? quo me ? quo meas lachrimas feram ?
 Si iam Sichaeus excidit penitus tibi,
 Si iam secundos, Dido, moliris toros,
 10 Nullosne Libia, quos ames, gignit duces ?
 Misero beata, perfido nubes pia ? 565
 Regina profugae ? Troico Tyria viro ?
 Genus omne Phrygium fecit invisum Paris.
 Hic rapuit, iste deseret vagus hospitem.
 Absiste Dido, rara in hospitibus fides
 Erratque ut ipsi. prodidit patriam suam. 570
 Prodet alienam : coniugem quanto magis ?
 Secum penates avehat, Latium petat.

Act. 3. Scene 1.

(They pass over the stage to the chase.)

Ghost of Sychaeus.

I Sychaeus, rending the earth, have borne my step sadly from the Lower World, through ways harsh with rock, bearing before me in my left hand a black torch, for the new wedding of Elisa, formerly my wife. For what is this rumour which has come to me in the depths of the earth ? That Dido is raging with love for the Trojan guest, and receives a stranger in the midst of her kingdoms and that he occupies the place of a husband ? Where shall I bear myself ? Where my tears ? If, Dido, you have now utterly forgotten Sychaeus, if you are now undertaking a second marriage, has Libya begotten no leaders whom you might love ? Will you who are blessed marry one who is wretched ? Pious, one who is treacherous ? A Queen, an exile ? A Carthaginian, a Trojan ? Paris has made all the race of Phrygians hated. He abducted his hostess, and this man will wander away and desert his. Refrain, Dido, loyalty in guests is rare, and wanders even as they do. He has betrayed his

20

At tu Megaera pectus hoc furiis age,
 Perure : satis est : caveat Aeneas malum.
 Quin intus abeo ? stabo et arcebo nefas.
 (Exit in Regiam.)

575

Actus 3. Scena 2.

(Tempestas.)

Nymphae Plangentes.
 (Nymphae canunt in scena.)

Eheu querulos fundite planctus,
 Terite insertis pectora palmis,
 Eheu dicite Tyriis omen
 Venit acerbum.

Resonet tellus, reboet caelum,
 Iterent ripae gemitus nostros,
 Ululent silvae, referant montes
 Et mare reddat.

580

30

Heu hymenaeos, heu male iunctos,
 Heu connubium, quale nec aevum
 Vidit priscum, nullaque nascens
 Hora videbit.

585

own country, and he will betray one that is not his : how much more will he betray his wife ? Let him take his household gods with him, let him seek Latium. But you, Megaera, prick on and burn this breast with furies. It is enough : let Aeneas beware the evil. Why don't I go inside ? I will remain, and ward off sin.

(Exit to the palace).

Act. 3. Scene 2.

(A storm.)

Wailing Nymphs

(The Nymphs sing on the stage.)

Alas, pour forth your plaintive laments, place your hands upon your breasts and beat them ; alas, say, that a bitter omen has come to the Carthaginians.
 Let the earth re-echo and the sky resound, let the banks repeat our groans, let the woods cry out, and the mountains and the sea give back the sound.
 Alas for these nuptials, badly entered into, alas ; a marriage alas, such as no previous age has seen, nor will any future hour see.

Non cessabit nemorum questus,
 Nos quoque nymphae fletum dabimus,
 Atque ex imis maesta cavernis
 Ingemet Echo. 590

Actus 3. Scena 3.

Cupido verus.
 (Exeat e nemore.)

40 Bene est, abunde est, exitum nacti sumus
 Matris repertum fraudibus, partum meis.
 Amavit ? etiam amore bacchata est : novo
 Flagravat igne, nec levi precio stetit 595
 Tenuisse Iulum genibus et gremio levem.
 Insuave retuli suavium, dulci osculo.
 Cum lusit illa ludicro, lusi dolo.
 Bibit ? recepi. aspexit ? et vultum intuli.
 Vocavit ? aderam. mulsit ? implevi sinum. 600
 Vafer fefelli simplicem, astutus piam.
 Et iam reliqui perditam, quamvis putet
 50 Abiisse curam penitus. en coniux Iovis
 Genetrixque nostra, manibus ad speciem datis
 Pepigere faedus nuptiis dicunt diem, 605

The lamentation of the groves will not cease, and we Nymphs too will utter our weeping,
 and sad Echo will wail from the deepest caverns.

Act 3. Scene 3.

Cupid in his true form.

(He comes out of the grove.)

It is well, it is very well ; we have obtained the end devised by my mother's trickery and arrived at through my own. Has she loved ? She has even raved with love : she has blazed with a new fire, and it has cost her dearly to have held little Iulus on her knees and lap. I repaid her sweet kiss with a kiss that was bitter. When she played in sport, I deceived her with guile. She drank ? I received the cup. She looked at me ? I turned my face towards her. Did she call me ? I was present. Did she caress me ? I filled her bosom. Skilfully I deceived a simple woman, cleverly a pious woman ; and I have now left her undone, although she may think that care has utterly departed. See, the wife of Jupiter and my mother, acquiescing in appearance, have entered into a compact. They name a day for the

In nemora mittunt, imbris caelum rotant,
 Atque hanc cavernam nuptiis statuunt locum.
 Mox ducet extra coniugem sponsus suam.
 Sed nos in urbem maior etiam num labor
 Accersit : aliquis semper in Tyriis amat. 610
 (Redeunt a venatione.)

Actus 3. Scena 4.

Mercurius solus.
 (Caelitus dilapsus.)

60 Facunda proles maximi superum Iovis,
 Matrisque Maiaae, nuncius velox deum,
 Corusca summi templa deserui aetheris.
 Quis hic locus ? quae zona ? quas terras premo ?
 Utrumne votum visa decipiunt meum ? 615
 An ista Lybia est ? ista Carthago nova ?
 Ni fallor, ipsa est : urbis agnosco notas.
 Didonis hoc est regiae limen domus,
 Hic delinitus ductor Aeneas Phrygum
 Moratur, ille causa veniendi fuit. 620

wedding, and send them into the groves, and hurl rain through the heavens. And they decide upon this cave as the place for the marriage. Soon the promised husband will bring out his spouse. But surely a greater labour summons us into the town ? Some one among the Carthaginians is always in love.

(The party returns from the chase.)

Act. 3. Scene 4.

Mercury alone.

(Gliding down from heaven.)

I, the eloquent child of Jove greatest of the gods above, and of my mother Maia, the speedy messenger of the gods, have left the glittering temples of high heaven. What is this place ? What region ? What lands do I walk upon ? Do the things I see deceive my wish ? Or is that Libya ? Is that New Carthage ? Unless I am mistaken it is the town itself. I recognise the signs of the city. This is the threshold of the royal house of Dido. Here the captivated Aeneas, leader of the Trojans, delays : he was the reason for my coming.

Nec vile quisquam nostrum munus hoc putet
 Quod huc et illuc pervolem nutu Iovis.
 70 Sancte colendum est numen in terris meum.
 Legatione caelitum fungi, grave est,
 Nec nisi valenti munus ingenio datur. 625
 Seu petere terram, seu fretum supra placet
 Volare, rapido flamine alarum vehor.
 Tum quanta virgae, quam potens virtus meae ?
 Hac pallidi animas evoco Ditis domo,
 Hac pariter alias mitto ad infernam Styga. 630
 Induco somnos, rursus hac somnos fugo,
 Et pressa morte lumina resigno gravi.
 80 Hac fretus, aequor transeo, ventos agens
 Nubesque moti turbidas trano aetheris.
 Sed ecce quisnam regia gressum extulit ? 635
 Ipse est Achat iunctus Aeneas suo.

Actus 3. Scena 5.

Mercurius. (ad Aeneam.)

Carthagini tu moenia excelsae locas
 Urbemque nunc uxorius pulchram exstruis
 Rerum tuarum oblite, regnique immemor.
 Hominum deumque rector, et mundi arbiter 640

Nor let anyone think it a paltry duty, to fly hither and thither at the nod of Jupiter. My divinity is to be worshipped with reverence on the earth. To perform the embassy of the heaven-dwellers is a serious task, and that duty is not given except to a capable talent. Whether it pleases me to seek the land, or whether to fly above the sea, I am carried along by the rapid fluttering of my wings. Then, what great, what powerful virtue is in my wand ? With it I summon the shades from the home of pale Dis, with it I equally send others to the infernal Styx. I induce sleep, and again put sleep to flight and open eyes overwhelmed with heavy death. Relying on this, I cross the seas, and driving the winds I swim across the disordered clouds of the heaven in motion.
 But see, who has come forth from the palace ? It is Aeneas himself accompanied by his own Achates.

Act 3. Scene 5.

Mercury. (to Aeneas).

You are now too fond of Dido, and are founding the walls of lofty Carthage, and building a beauteous city, forgetful of your own affairs, and unmindful of your kingdom. The ruler of

90 Qui numine polos torquet et terras suo,
 Celeres per auras ipse me iussit tibi
 Mandata ferre. quid struis ? qua spe teris
 Lybicus in oris otia ? et terris tibi
 Fato negatis ? quo tuae spectant morae ? 645
 Si nulla rerum fama tantarum movet,
 Nec ipse proprium laude moliris super
 Tua laborem, subeat Ascanius tibi,
 Et spes Iuli respice haeredis tui.
 Cui iam Latini regna debentur soli. 650
 Arcesne Latias invides nato pater ?
 Non alma talem te mihi dixit Venus,
 100 Nec vindicavit ideo bis Graium dolis,
 Sed qui frementem regeret Italiam fore,
 A sanguine alto proderet Teucris genus, 655
 Orbique iura victor, et leges daret.
 Legationis summa nostrae est, Naviga.

Actus 3. Scena 6.

Aeneas. Achates.

AENEAS : Horrore quatior totus et mentem pavor
 Concussit ingens, atra nox oculos subit ;
 Facilemque verbis denegat lingua exitum. 660

gods and men, the master of the Universe, who turns the heavens and the earth by his own divinity, has himself ordered me to bring you his commands through the speedy winds. What are you building ? With what hope do you waste hours of leisure on the Libyan shores in lands denied to you by Fate ? What end do your delays have in view ? If the renown of such deeds does not move you, nor do you perform your task for any personal glory, then remember Ascanius, and look upon the hopes of Iulus your heir, to whom the kingdoms of the Latin soil are destined. Do you, his father, envy your son the citadels of Latium ? Dear Venus did not describe you thus to me nor did she on that account twice deliver you from the tricks of the Greeks : she did this, so that you could rule trembling Italy, from whose high blood a race of Trojans would come forth ; who as a conqueror would give justice and laws to the world. The substance of my embassy is : Set sail.

Act 3. Scene 6.

Aeneas. Achates.

AENEAS : I am entirely shaken with horror, and a mighty fear has struck my mind,
 and black night has entered my eyes. My tongue denies an easy exit for my

- Sed quid profari poteris Aenea miser ?
 Aut unde poteris ? huc et huc animus mihi
 110 Variusque rapitur, qualis Euripus solet
 Fluere et refluere septies uno die.
 Tanto deorum attonitus imperio iuvat 665
 Abire, et istas deserere terras fuga.
 Sed te furem quo mihi affatu licet
 Ambire Dido ? quem mihi vultum induam ?
 Quae prima sumam verba ? quae causa est satis ?
 Incertus animi versor in varias vices. 670
 Sic ut carinam media sulcantem freta,
 120 Hac rector, illac unda transversam rapit.
 Restitue fluctus Iuno iam Lybicos mihi.
 Levior in illis ira praelusit tua.
 Quicunque saevo maria transitis deo 675
 Amate fluctus, credite experto mihi.
 ACHATES : Magnanime Troum ductor, et captae unicum
 Patriae levamen, comprime affectus precor
 Teque obsequentem nuntio praebe Iovis
 Minus eligendum est cum duo occurrunt mala. 680
 AENEAS : Sic est Achates : at quis hic iudex erit ?
 ACHATES : Iove imperante te tamen iudex latet ?
 130 AENEAS : At hospitalis Iupiter prohibet fugam.
 ACHATES : Iter institutum cur fugam turpem vocas ?
 AENEAS : Sic praedicabit fama.

words. But, O wretched Aeneas, what will you be able to say - how say it ? My mind vacillates, and turns this way and that, just as the Euripus is wont to flow back and forth seven times in one day. Thunderstruck at the mighty command of the gods, it pleases me to go away, and to desert these lands by flight. But Dido, with what speech can I solicit you as you rage ? What countenance shall I assume ? What words shall I first use ? What reason is sufficient ? Uncertain of mind, I am torn in different directions : just as when a ship is ploughing its way through mid-ocean, the helmsman pulls it one way and the waves seize it crosswise. O Juno, restore to me the Libyan billows ; they were a rehearsal of your lighter anger. All you who cross the seas when the god is raging, love the billows : believe me who have had experience of this.

- ACHATES : High-minded leader of the Trojans, sole consolation of your defeated country, restrain your emotion, I pray, and show yourself obedient to the messenger of Jupiter. When two evils present themselves, you must choose the lesser.
 AENEAS : It is so, Achates. But who here is to be the judge of that ?
 ACHATES : When Jupiter commands, can you ask who is the judge ?
 AENEAS : But Jupiter the hospitable forbids flight.
 ACHATES : Why do you call your appointed journey disgraceful flight ?
 AENEAS : Rumour will so report it.

	ACHATES :	sed falsa et levis.	685
	AENEAS :	Tamen est timenda levior.	
	ACHATES :	at superi magis.	
	AENEAS :	At chara Dido est.	
	ACHATES :	veniat in mentem tibi Ascanius.	
	AENEAS :	etiam magna Carthago venit.	
	ACHATES :	Num terra fatis debita Italia est minor ?	
	AENEAS :	Via longa pelago.	
	ACHATES :	Iupiter monstrat viam.	690
	AENEAS :	At saeva Iuno.	
	ACHATES :	materia laudis tuae.	
	AENEAS :	At cuncta Elisae debeo, classem, meos, Vitamque Iūli.	
140	ACHATES :	quas decet grates age.	
	AENEAS :	Omnis habeatur gratia ingratum arguet.	
	ACHATES :	Promerita perdit qui satis grato exprobrat.	695
	AENEAS :	Amat.	
	ACHATES :	sequetur forsā .	
	AENEAS :	insanit.	
	ACHATES :	fuge.	
	AENEAS :	At obsecrabit per fidem misero datam, Per hospitia, per lachrimas, per dexteram, Per omne quicquid dulce mihi secum fuit.	

ACHATES :	Rumour is false and light.
AENEAS :	Although fickle, rumour is to be feared.
ACHATES :	The gods are more to be feared.
AENEAS :	But Dido is dear to me.
ACHATES :	Think of Ascanius.
AENEAS :	I think too of great Carthage.
ACHATES :	Surely the land of Italy, due to you by Fate, is not less ?
AENEAS :	It is a long way over the ocean.
ACHATES :	Jupiter shows the way.
AENEAS :	But Juno is cruel.
ACHATES :	A matter for your glory.
AENEAS :	But I owe all to Dido - my fleet, my men, and the life of Iulus.
ACHATES :	Then pay the thanks that are proper.
AENEAS :	Though every thanks be paid, it will prove me ungrateful.
ACHATES :	Whoever reproaches one sufficiently grateful, loses the thanks that are deserved.
AENEAS :	She loves me.
ACHATES :	Perchance she will follow you.
AENEAS :	She is out of her mind with love.
ACHATES :	Flee !
AENEAS :	But she will beseech me through the faith shown to me when I was wretched, through her hospitality, through her tears, through her right hand, through all that was sweet between us.

	ACHATES :	Tu pariter obsecra per Ascanii caput, Per dira superum monita, per fato tibi Promissa Latii regna, per gentes novas.	700
150		Obsiste lachrimis iamque te intractabilem Durumque praebe fortis, auresque obstrue, Vocesque miseras perfer, obdura, excute.	705
		Ut alta quercus, quam simul facto impetu Boreae valentes hinc et illinc flatibus Eruere certant, haeret haec scopulis tamen, Quantumque ad auras vertice erigitur suo, Radice tantum extenditur in imam Styga.	710
	AENEAS :	Satis est, Achates, vincat imperium Iovis. Et te deorum sancte, quisquis eras, sequor.	
160		O placidus adsis quaeso, cursumque adiuves, Et astra caelo dextra placato feras.	
	ACHATES :	At Mnesteia Cloanthumque rectores iube Ut arma taciti colligant, classem instruant Ex urbe socios ad suas cogant rates, Novique causam fronte consilii tegant.	715
		Interea tu dum nesciat Dido furens Tantosque amores non putet rumpi suos,	720
		Aditum experire, quaeque fandi tempora Idonea, rebus quis modus dexter tuis.	

ACHATES :	You likewise beseech her through the person of Ascanius, through the dire warnings of the gods, through the kingdoms of Italy, promised to you by Fate, through the new nations. Withstand her tears, be strong, show yourself hard and unchangeable, and block up your ears. Endure, shake off, be hardened to, these wretched voices. Be like a lofty oak, which the North winds, attacking at the same time, try to tear down with strong gusts hither and thither ; but it clings to the rocks, however, and as much as its lofty top extends towards the skies, as far down do its roots extend towards the bottom-most Styx.
AENEAS :	Enough, Achates ; let the command of Jove gain the day. I follow you, holy one of the gods, whoever you were. O calmly be present, I pray and help my journey, and guide the stars in a sky calmed by your hand.
ACHATES :	Order Menestheus and Cloanthus the helmsmen to silently collect their arms, make ready the fleet and drive their comrades out of the city to their ships ; let not their faces reveal the reason for this new arrangement. Meanwhile, whilst raging Dido is all unaware, and whilst she does not know that her great love can be broken, prepare your approach to her and a time suitable for speaking and a manner suitable for what you have to do.

170 AENEAS : Te cura Achates, classis armandae manet.
 Homines deosque testor, et sanctam fidem,
 Me Dido, terris cedere invitum tuis. 725
 (Aeneas ad Regiam
 Achates ad Naves.)

Chorus.

O quam velox est fama malum
 Celeri versans mobilitate ?
 Improbata vires auget eundo
 Primo semper parva timore
 Postea sese tollit in auras, 730
 Graditurque solo, mox caput inter
 Nubila condit.

180 Odiis illam stimulata deum
 Caeo, ut perhibent, Enceladoque
 Tulit extremam Terra sororem 735
 Pedibus celerem, levibusque alis,
 Monstrum horrendum, cui quot plumae
 Corpore, tot sunt oculi subter,
 Tot sunt linguae, totidemque sonant
 Ora, tot avidas subrigit aures. 740

AENEAS : The duty of equipping the fleet is yours, Achates. I call men and gods to
 witness, and my holy faith, that I leave your lands unwillingly, Dido.

(Aeneas goes to the palace.)
 (Achates goes to the ships.)

Chorus

O how speedy an ill is Rumour, moving with swift mobility ? She basely increases her strength as she goes along ; she is always small when fear first comes, and then raises herself into the winds, and walks on the ground, and soon hides her head amidst the clouds.

They say that Earth, goaded on by hatred of the gods, bore her as the final sister of Coeus and Enceladus, quick of foot, with light wings - a horrible monster, who has as many feathers on her body as eyes underneath her ; she speaks with the same number of tongues and mouths, and she pricks up the same number of greedy ears.

	Noctu caeli medio pervolat,	
	Nec declinat lumina somno.	
190	Custos summi culmina tecti	
	Turresve altas tenet interdiu	
	Garrula magnas territat urbes,	745
	Nuncia ficti, nuncia veri.	
	Haec multiplici voce replevit	
	Populos gaudens, infecta simul	
	Et facta canens : scilicet hospitem	
	Venisse novum, sanguine Teucro,	750
	Cui se Dido dignetur viro	
200	Iungere. nunc se luxis hyemem	
	Ducere totam regni immemores.	
	Haec dea passim faeda per urbes	
	Lybicas, hominum fundit in ora.	755

At night, she flies in the middle of the sky, nor does she lower her eyes in sleep. She keeps as a guardian, during the day, the topmost parts of the highest roof or high towers, and prating, frightens great cities, messenger of falsehood, messenger of truth.

Rejoicing she has filled the peoples with manifold voice, singing deeds that have been done and not done : no doubt, that a new guest has come, of Trojan blood, to whom as her husband, Dido may deign to join herself ; and that now, unmindful of the kingdom, they spend all the winter in splendour. These rumours the foul goddess pours into the mouths of men on all sides through the cities of Libya.

Actus 4. Scena 1.

Dido.

Proh facinus ingens, fallor ! obtestor deos
 Omnes, deasque, vos et infernam Styga
 Erebiq̃ue fluctus, quicquid est rerum undique,
 Si quid nefandi sceleris admissum est. dolo
 Et amore casto, victa Phaenissa occidi. 760
 Quid facio, quo me confero ? abrepta impetu
 Aestuq̃ue mens indomita constringi nequit.
 Ubi est ? abiit ? heu tam cito ? libet alloqui
 Libet experiri misera, quo misera feror !

Actus 4. Scena 2.

Dido. Aeneas.

10 DIDO : Periure, tantum posse sperasti scelus 765
 Latere, tantum posse simulari nefas ?
 Didone fugere, nec salutata paras ?
 Non dextra nuper iuncta, non mutua fides
 Amor iugalis, non maritalis torus,
 Moritura nec te funere cruento tenet 770

Act 4. Scene 1.

Dido.

O mighty crime ! I am deceived, I call to witness all the gods and goddesses, and you, hellish Styx, and waves of Erebus and all things everywhere, if any infamous crime has been committed. By guile and by chaste love, I have fallen, a conquered Carthaginian. What am I doing ? Where am I going ? My ungovernable mind, carried away by fury and by ardour, cannot be held in check. Where is he ? Has he gone away ? Alas, so quickly ? I wish to speak to him, I wish, wretched as I am, to find out where I am being borne !

Act 4. Scene 2.

Dido. Aeneas.

DIDO : O perjured man, did you hope that such a crime could lie concealed ? That such a sin could be dissimulated ? Are you preparing to flee without even saying farewell to Dido ? Can neither the right hand recently clasped, nor our mutual trust, nor our nuptial love, nor the marriage bed, nor

	Phaenissa Dido ? an sidere hiberno paras Aptare classem ? cum gravis nimbis Notus Et raucus altas Aquilo contorquet nives, Lybicasque arenas Auster, et Syrtes agit ?	
20	Crudelis ; an si Pergama Hectorea forent Nec arva peteres alia, et ignotas domus, Peteres per undas Pergama, et saevum mare ? Mene fugis ? an sum digna quam fugias ? per has Nunc oro lachrimas, per tuam dextram precor (Cum nil relictum est aliud, et regnum meum, Famamque in arcto stare et ancipiti sciam)	775 780
30	Per coniugales sceleris ultores deos, Per spes Iūli, per mei sceptrum imperii Tuamque vitam, perque iam cineres meos Si merita quicquam, sive te pietas movet, Si triste fatum, sive violati decus Pudoris, aut si dulce tibi quicquam fuit Didonis, immanem exuas mentem precor. Miserere nostri, gratiam meritis refer, Utcunque (si quis est adhuc precibus locus)	 785 790
40	En haec suprema vota Didonis cape. Te propter omnes Africae, et Nomadum duces Odere.eundem propter egregium decus, Celebrisque fama qua prior caelum attigi Extincta cum pudore semianimis iacet.	 795

Carthaginian Dido about to die a bloody death detain you ? Are you preparing to make ready your fleet under a wintry star ? When the wind is heavy with clouds, when the harsh North-easter whirls the deep snow, and the South wind drives the Libyan sands and the Syrtes ?
Cruel man, even if Hector's Troy now stood, and you were not seeking foreign fields and unknown lands, would you now seek Troy through these waves and this cruel sea ? Do you flee me ? Or am I a woman who deserves to be deserted by you ? Through these tears I now pray, through your right hand I beseech, (since nought else is left and I know that my kingdom and reputation stand in a straitened and doubtful position), through the gods who preside over marriage, the avengers of sin, through the hopes of Iulus, and the sceptre of my realm, and through your own life, and my ashes : if my deserts, or if my piety, if my sad fate, or the glory of my violated chastity, or if anything of Dido's that was sweet move you, then I pray lay aside this monstrous intention. Have pity on us, repay thanks for our deserts, and in any case, lo, receive these final prayers of Dido (if there is still a place for prayers). Because of you all the leaders of Africa and the Numidians hate me. For the same reason, my outstanding glory and the distinguished reputation with which I first attained the heavens now lie lifeless together with my chastity. To whom

	Cui me remittis hospes ? hoc unum mihi Nomen relictum est coniuge amisso, cui Me deseris ? quis spolia de nobis feret ? Sed si qua proles ante tam tristem fugam De te foret suscepta, quae vultum tuum	800
	Et te referret, si quis Ascanius mea Luderet in aula, cuius aspectu meum Solarer animum, en habuit hos vultus meus Quondam maritus, talis Aeneas fuit,	
50	Sic celsus humeris, sic tulit fortes manus Florens vigeret sorte faelici domus.	805
	AENEAS : Parere precibus cupio me fateor tuis Regina, nec enim merita dicendo queam Numerare, nec si fata monstrabunt viam, Immemor Elisae dicar aut regni tui.	810
	Pro me licebit pauca, sed vera eloqui. Regina, non hanc tegere speravi fugam, Ne finge, furto, nec maritales faces Prae me ferebam, tale nec faedus inii.	
60	Si fata vitam ducere auspiciis novis, Aut sponte curas gerere paterentur mea Troiae reliquias colerem et eximiae domus Priami manerent : nomen aut patriae suum Phrygibusque victis redderem, et sparsos darem Cives reductos Hectori, Priamo, mihi.	815 820

do you give me up, stranger ? Only my name was left to me when I had lost my husband. For whom are you deserting me ? Who will bear the victory over me ? If I had begotten a child from you before your sad flight, who would recall your features and yourself, if an Ascanius were playing in my court, by whose sight I might console my mind, saying "See, my one-time husband had these looks, such was Aeneas, thus lofty his shoulder, thus strong his hands," my flourishing household would thrive with happy fate.

AENEAS : I confess that I wish to obey your prayers, O Queen, nor can I number in speech your deserts, nor shall I be called unmindful of Dido or of your kingdom if the fates show a way. You will allow me to say a few words, yet ones that are true, on my behalf. Do not imagine, O Queen, that I hoped to disguise this flight by stealth ; yet neither did I bear before me the torches of marriage. I did not enter into such a pact. If the fates allowed me to lead my life by new auspices or to look after my affairs by my own choice, I would worship my relics at Troy, and the famous houses of Priam would remain. I would return its own name to my native land and to the conquered Trojans, and I would collect up its scattered citizens

	Nunc sorte Phaebi ductus Italiam sequor, Italia patria est, uxor, imperium, salus. Carthago si te detinet, et arces novae Phaenissa cum sis invides Latium mihi ?	
70	Externa regna quaerere et nobis licet.	825
	Quam saepe tristis umbra genitoris meis Offertur oculis, membra cum solvit quies Dulcisque fessum corpus oppressit sopor ? Quam saepe tristis intrat in thalamos meos Imago patris admonens celerem fugam ?	830
80	Quin puer Iulus debito fatis solo Frustatur, ipse caelitem interpres, Iove Nuncius ab alto missus in terras (caput Utrumque testor) per leves auras tulit Mandata, vidi lumine in aperto deum,	835
	Haec intuentem maenia, atque hausi auribus Dulcem loquelam, iussa supremi Iovis. Remitte planctus, sit querelarum modus. Non sponte, non iniussus Italiam sequor.	
	DIDO : Non diva genetrix perfide, nec author tibi Stirpis nefandae Dardanus, sed te Scinis Aut quis Procrustes genuit, et tygres ferae Per inhospitalis Caucasi rupem asperam Aluere, primos redit ad authores genus.	840
90	Feramque stirpem degener sanguis refert.	845

and return them to Hector, to Priam, and to myself. Now, led by the fate of Apollo, I make for Italy. Italy is my native land, my wife, my power, my salvation. If Carthage and its new citadels keep you back, Carthaginian that you are, do you begrudge me Latium ? We too are allowed to seek for kingdoms abroad. How often is the sad shade of my father borne before my eyes, when quiet relaxes my limbs, and a sweet sleep has overwhelmed my tired body ?

How often does the sad shade of my father enter my bedchamber advising a hasty flight ? Nay, the boy Iulus is being disappointed of the land due by the fates ; the very messenger of the gods, agent from Jupiter on high has been sent to the earth, (I call each deity to witness) and has borne his commands through the light winds. I saw the god in the full light of day, gazing upon these walls, and I attentively drank in his sweet speech, the commands of supreme Jupiter. Cease your laments ; let there be a limit to your plaints. I make for Italy not of my own accord, not without being ordered to.

DIDO :

O treacherous one, you did not have a divine parent, nor was Dardanus the founder of your accursed race, but Sinis or some Procrustes begat you, and cruel tigers brought you up on the harsh rock of the inhospitable Caucasus, and your race has returned to its first founders : and your

	Quid misera faciam ? misera quid primum querar ?	
	Fletune nostro gemit aut lachrimis meis	
	Reflexit oculos ? an madent fletu genae ?	
	Precibusne victus cedit ? hoc instar mihi	
	Magni fuisset muneris. quid iam potest	850
	Pro me esse ? nusquam tuta consistit fides.	
	Ego hunc egentem, littore eiectum meo	
	Patriaue pulsum nuper accepi et malis	
100	Tot me levamen, denique et regnum dedi.	
	Proh facinus ingens, vatem et insontes deos	855
	Praetendit. augur Phaebus, infensus pater	
	Lyciaeque sortes debitum regnum avocant.	
	Quin Maia illa genitus interpres Iovis	
	Horrida per auras iussa Mercurius tulit.	
	Haec cura superos hic deos urget labor,	860
	Forsan quietos. oro, nec teneo tamen.	
	I, sequere ventis, regna per fluctus pete,	
	Per maria terram debitam fati tibi.	
	Confido, (si quid vota si valeant preces)	
110	Paenas daturum sceleris et brevibus vadis	865
	Scopulisve fixum, aut inter elisas rates	
	Caput exerentem, me vocaturum : sequar	
	Flammisque nigris adero, non unquam tibi	
	Defuerit umbra, teque perpetuo obruam	
	Defuncta luctu. facinorum paenas lues	870

degenerate blood recalls its savage stock. What shall I do in my wretchedness ? Wretchedly what shall I first complain ? Did he groan at my weeping, or did he turn away his eyes from my tears ? Are his cheeks moist with tears ? Did he yield, conquered by my prayers ? That would have been like a great gift to me. What can he be to me now ?

Faith nowhere stands secure. I recently received this man, destitute, cast up on my shore, and driven from his country, and I gave myself, and then my kingdom as a consolation for so many misfortunes. O mighty crime, he offers as his excuse a soothsayer, and the guiltless gods. The seer Apollo, and the Lycian oracles and the angry father of the gods and the kingdom due to him call him away. Nay, Mercury the agent of Jupiter, born from Maia, has borne his terrible commands through the winds. This care, this work, impells the gods above, who perhaps take no part in this. I beseech you, yet I do not detain you. Go, follow your kingdom down the winds ; seek through the billows and through the sea the land due to you by fate. If vows and prayers have any power, I trust that you will pay the penalty of your crime, and fixed on the narrow shallows or the rocks, or raising your head amidst your shattered ships, will call on me. I will follow, I will be present with black flames, my shade will always be in your presence, and when I am dead I shall overwhelm you in perpetual grief. You will pay

Nec me latebunt perfide, extincta audiam
Veloxque ad umbras fama perveniet meas.

Actus 4. Scena 3.

Aeneas. **Ilioneus.**

	AENEAS :	An sic reliquit, abiit et celeri fuga Vocem antevertit, saeva ne questum parem Audiret ? o si penetret in teneras dolor	875
120		Absentis aures. unus en cogit deus, Deusque prohibet alter, Aeneam Tyro Abire, utrumvis non datur iussum sequi. Te, te Cupido sequerer et sequerer libens Sed urget aliud maius edictum Iovis.	880
		Elisa, comites, memet, Ascanium, omnia Laetus relinquam, si Iovi fiat satis. Fatoque non est culpa discessus mea.	
	ILIONEUS :	Nisi tibi pectus ferreum Aeneas foret, Animusque multis undique obductus malis,	885
130		Has ferre lachrimas durus, has poteras preces Negare ? quid hic haesitas ? Dido rogat Et Dido merita est, quid fugis, quidque expetis Revolvat animus. quaeris Italiam ? Tyrus Offertur, ingens dabitur imperium tibi.	890

the penalty for your crimes, O treacherous man, nor will they be hidden from me. When I am dead I shall hear them, and the report of them will come swiftly to my shades.

Act 4. Scene 3.

Aeneas. Ilioneus.

AENEAS : Has she left me thus, has she gone away, and cruelly by her swift flight cut off my speech, so that she should not hear a similar complaint ? Oh, if only my grief could enter her tender ears even though she is absent. Behold, one god compels Aeneas to depart from Tyre, and another forbids it, and it is not given to me to acquiesce in either of the commands. You, you, would I follow you, Cupid, and I would follow willingly, but this other greater edict of Jupiter presses upon me. Dido, I would happily leave my comrades, myself, Ascanius, and all things, if Jupiter were content. My departure due to fate is not my fault.

ILIONEUS : Unless your breast were iron, Aeneas, and your mind enveloped on all sides by many troubles, could you have been hard enough to bear these tears, and to deny these prayers ? Why do you hesitate ? Dido asks, and deservedly why, you flee ? Let your mind reflect upon what you long for. Do you seek Italy ? Tyre is offered, a great empire will be given to you.

	Magnum relinques nec minus tutum. nova est Promissa coniux ? Dido coniugium novum Regemque facere spondet, an nescis deos Haec invidere regna Troianis ? et hoc 140 Quodcunque nobis sidus obtulerit boni 895 Animo maligno ferre ? dum tutus potes Istis morare sedibus, metuo deos Teucris iniquos, quod petit Dido leve est, Praestare Teucris dulce solamen tibi.
AENEAS :	Solus repugnat precibus, infaelix dolor. 900 Habuere Teucri numen infensum antea Cum Troia staret, nunc tamen superis sat est. Sunt aequiores : Pergama in cineres data, Non negligenda caelitus iussa admonent.
150 ILIONEUS :	Doluere Teucri non minus laesam fidem 905 Quam spreta divum numina. extinctus Paris Non negligendum faedus hospitii docet.
AENEAS :	At appetitu cessit effreni Paris. Ego deorum iussus imperium sequor.
ILIONEUS :	Idem est utrique crimen et Paridi et tibi. 910
AENEAS :	Non animus idem est, velle concludit scelus Nocens vocatur sponte quicunque est nocens. Invitus abeo. stat Iovis iussum exsequi Sermone nullo nostra retinetur fuga.

You will be leaving a great power, and one no less secure. Is a new wife promised to you ? Dido will promise to make you her new husband, and king. Or do you not know that the gods begrudge those kingdoms to the Trojans, and that whatever good this star offers to us is given with ill-will ? Whilst you can safely remain in those regions, I fear that the gods will be unjust to the Trojans, Dido seeks a light request – to offer you and the Trojans sweet consolation.

AENEAS :	My unhappy grief alone opposes her prayers. When Troy was standing, the Trojans experienced an angry divinity, but now the gods above have their due. They are more just : Troy given to ashes warns that the commands of the dwellers in heaven are not to be ignored.
ILIONEUS :	The Trojans were afflicted no less on account of broken faith than because the divinities of the gods were despised. The death of Paris teaches that the bond of hospitality should not be ignored.
AENEAS :	But Paris fell through his unbridled appetite. I follow the authority of the gods at their command.
ILIONEUS :	The crime of Paris and yourself is the same,
AENEAS :	The intention is not the same ; crime implies the wish to commit it. The man is called guilty who is guilty willingly. I depart against my will. It is my intention to obey the command of Jupiter ; my flight is delayed by no discourse.

Actus 4. Scena 4.

Anna. Dido.

160	ANNA :	Regina quamvis plura quam fas est loquar, Et lingua fraeno fundat excusso sonos Non expetitos, admove vigiles tamen Aures sorori, grata tibi quondam fuit Anna, atque adhuc me cura sollicitat tui. Quid te ipsa torques ? quid malis offers volens Animam dolentem ? si neque imperio potest Libiae teneri, si tuos spernit preces, Despicit amores, fallit intactam fidem, Potius ubivis regnet Aeneas precor 170 Quam clara nequam serviat Dido duci. Male retinetur quem tuo retines malo. DIDO : Amitto, simul est noster amissus pudor. ANNA : Est impudica quae datam frangit fidem, Non, quae tuetur. DIDO : noster est fractus pudor. Meone an eius crimine hoc refert parum. ANNA : An esse sacrum culpa coniugium potest ? DIDO : Secreta cum sint pacta quis testis sciat ? Quid quod negavit ? ANNA : audio Iliacam fidem Agnosco Paridem, sed maritales dei 180 Pronubaque Iuno testis. DIDO : haud metuo deos.	915 920 925 930 935
-----	--------	--	---

Act 4. Scene 4.

Anna. Dido.

ANNA :	Although I speak more than is right, O Queen, and my tongue pours forth without restraint sounds I did not seek for, yet listen carefully to your sister. Anna was once sweet to you, and anxiety for you still disturbs me. Why do you torture yourself ? Why do you willingly offer your grieving soul to ill ? If he cannot be kept back by the realm of Libya, if he has spurned your prayers, if he has disdained your love, if he has deceived your untouched faith, I pray let Aeneas rather reign anywhere than that famous Dido should serve a worthless leader. It is a bad idea to detain one whom you would detain to your own disadvantage.
DIDO :	I lose him, and at the same time, my modesty is lost.
ANNA :	The woman is immodest who breaks the faith that is plighted ; not she who keeps it.
DIDO :	My modesty is injured. It matters little whether the crime was mine or his.
ANNA :	Can holy matrimony be a fault ?
DIDO :	When pacts are secret, what witness can know of them ? What of the fact that he has denied it ?
ANNA :	I know Trojan loyalty, I know Paris. But the gods of marriage and Juno patron of marriage are your witnesses.
DIDO :	I do not fear the gods. But rumour frightens me, and rumour scarce favours the truth.

	Me fama terret, fama vix vero favet.	
ANNA :	Quis te pudoris arguet laesi ?	
DIDO :	rogas ?	
	Qui rapuit.	
ANNA :	orbem profugus ignotum petit.	
DIDO :	Hoc est quod urit. quid moras nectis soror ?	
	Levis est amor qui capere consilium potest.	940
	Unum est quod oro, non vacat vanis diem	
	Conterere verbis.	
ANNA :	loquere, perficiam lubens.	
DIDO :	Iam classe pelagus splendet, et Teucri undique	
	Littore relicto maria properantes petunt.	
190	Per transtra fusus navita implorat deos,	945
	Ut aura plenos fortior tendat sinus.	
	Remi apparantur, instat Aeneas fugae	
	Omnisque nimium longa properanti est mora.	
	Sperare tantum misera si potui malum,	
	Et ferre potero, restat ut supplex petas	950
	Hostem superbum : non ego antiquum decus	
	Potentis Asiae Pergama in cineres dedi,	
	Non triste patris funditus bustum erui,	
	Cineresve sparsi. dicta quid in aures mea	
200	Dimittere negat, hoc det extremum mihi	955

ANNA :	Who will accuse you of having harmed your modesty ?
DIDO :	Do you ask that ? He who bore it away.
ANNA :	He seeks an unknown world, an exile.
DIDO :	That is what galls me. Why do you create delays, sister ? The love which can take advice is light. I pray one thing ; I have not the leisure to waste the day with vain words.
ANNA :	Speak, I will willingly perform it.
DIDO :	Now the sea is resplendent with the fleet, and the Trojans on all sides seek the seas in haste, leaving the shore. The sailor, stretched across the cross-beams, implores the gods that a stronger wind may extend the full sails. The oars are prepared, and Aeneas hastens on the departure, and all delay is too long for him in his haste. If in my wretchedness I was able to apprehend such an evil, then I can bear it. It remains for you to seek the proud enemy as a suppliant. It was not I who gave to ashes Troy, the ancient glory of powerful Asia, I did not utterly pluck down the sad tomb of his father, or scatter his ashes. Why does he not let me speak to him ?

Solumque amanti munus, expectet fugam
 Facilesque ventos. non peto dulces thoros
 Et coniugales, non ut amittat potens
 Pulchrumque Latium, quod tamen solum licet,
 Tempus moramque cupio, ut aerumnas levem. 960
 Itò, itò, celera ; perage mandatum soror.
 ANNA : Iussa haud morabor, conferam ad naves gradum.

Chorus.

O auspiciis Pergama primis
 Vanae fidei, tum cum superos
 210 Astus merito fraudavit suo 965
 Laomedontis.

Cur antiquas querimur fraudes ?
 Peperit nobis hora recentior
 Monstrum maius. cur documenta
 Quaerimus extera ? Tyrias oras 970
 Tetigit propior culpa, domestica
 Fraude stupemus.

Nusquam fidei remanet candor,
 Maculis atris sordet ubique.
 220 Docuit fallax hospes in hospitem, 975

Let him give this sole and final gift to me who love him : let him delay his flight and wait for favourable winds. I do not seek the sweet couches of marriage, I do not ask that he lose powerful and beauteous Latium, but I do seek the only thing which is permitted : time and delay, in order to relieve my miseries. Go, go, make haste. Fulfil my command, sister.
 ANNA : I will not delay your commands, I will make my way to the ships.

Chorus.

O Troy, of vain faith from the time of your first auspices, when the trickery of Laomedon cheated the gods of their reward.

Why do we bewail ancient tricks ? Time more recent has produced for us a greater ill. Why do we seek instances from abroad ? A nearer crime has touched the Tyrian shores, we are aghast at deception at home.

The brightness of faith nowhere remains : on all sides it is vile with black spots. The

Docuit fallax Tros in Tyriam,
 Docuit fallax vir in uxorem,
 Qualem fidei praestat honorem
 Dardana tellus.

 Petiit superos, terras liquit, 980
 Simplex probitas, impia vestibus
 Eius tegitur dissimulatio,
 O si redeat rursus ab astris
 Candida virtus.

deceitful guest has shown to his host's detriment, deceitful Troy has shown to Tyre's detriment, the deceitful husband has shown to his wife's detriment, what respect the Dardanian land pays to faith.

Simple probity has left the earth and sought the gods above, but unholy dissimulation is clothed in its garments. Oh, if only bright virtue might return again from the stars.

Actus 5. Scena 1.

Nuncia ancilla.

	O quanta torquet regiam mentem lues ?	985
	Quam dira pestis exedit ? quamque intimis	
	Habitat medullis ? nulla nec restat quies	
	Nec spes quietis, luce nec tenebris silet.	
	Quin errat amens, ingemit, stridet, furit.	
	Et nisi querelis non vacat : memori fugam	990
	Frequens retractat mente, talique intonans	
	Sermone linguam solvit. en expes, inops,	
	Deserta, quid agam ? num sequar solitos procos	
10	Irrisa ? Nomadum coniuges supplex petam	
	Hos ante dedignata ? an Iliadum sequar	995
	Extrema fata, quos opibus auxi meis ?	
	Quis me superbis (velle fac) ratibus Phrygum	
	Accipiet ? olim perfidos nosti dolos.	
	Quin morere sicut merita es, et ferro insitos	
	Averte luctus, talibus noctem trahit	1000
	Diemque dictis. iamque componi pyram	
	Spondamque iussit : baltheum, ferrum, institam	
	Diadema, sceptrum, quicquid Aeneas dedit	
20	Profugus, in unum coniici. magicis parat	
	Lenire mentem ritibus. nempe Aethiops	1005

Act 5. Scene 1.

A handmaiden bearing a message.

Oh, what a great disaster tortures the royal mind ? How dire a plague has consumed Dido ! How it dwells within her inmost marrow ! There neither remains any peace, nor any hope of peace ; she is silent neither by day nor by night. Nay, she wanders madly, she groans, she shrieks, she rages. She has no time for anything but complaints. She often recalls his flight with mindful thoughts, and thundering with words like these looses her tongue. "Lo, hopeless, destitute, deserted, what shall I do ? Shall I seek my former suitors whom I mocked ? Shall I seek as a suppliant the Numidian husbands whom before I despised ? Or am I to follow the final fates of the Trojans, whom I enriched with my resources ? Who will receive me (even supposing that I wished it) on the proud ships of the Trojans ? You have known once their treacherous deceits. Why do you not die just as you deserve, and avoid by the sword these deep-seated griefs." With such words she draws out the night and the day. Now she has ordered a pyre and a bier to be prepared ; and her sword belt, her sword, her flounce, her diadem, her sceptre, and all the gifts fleeing Aeneas gave her to be heaped up.

Qua parte solis proximi sentit iubar,
 Massyla vates, inquit, hos docuit modos
 Fraenandi amorem. credimus, bustum damus,
 Bustoque, quicquid illa mandavit prius
 Atque ecce demens proripit sese foras. 1010

Actus 5. Scena 2.

Dido. Barce nutrix.

DIDO : Dilecta Barce, cuius amplexae meum
 Ulnae maritum saepe sunt, testor deos
 30 Tuumque dulce caput, et hanc aram, mea
 Non sponte fieri quod vides : regnat dolor
 Quaeritque tutum qua datur cunque exitum. 1015
 Hinc posse luctum spero leniri meum.
 BARCE : O fiat utinam, posse quod fieri putem
 Negemve dubito : te tibi reddat furor,
 Nobisque, et omnes exuat vires precor.
 DIDO : Quin tu remotum in parte seducta locum 1020
 Capesse sola cantibus linquar meis.
 Ordire vates, carmen effare, insolens
 Ad hosce ritus : utere insueto gradu
 40 Habituque, qualem Colchidos dicunt statum.
 Silentis Erebi vulgus, infandum genus 1025

She is preparing to calm her mind by magic arts. "To be sure", she says, "an African prophetess, from the region where the Ethiopian feels the brightness of the sun when it is closest, taught me these ways of checking love." We believe her, we prepare her a pyre, and place on the pyre whatever she had previously ordered us to do. And see, she madly hurries out of doors.

Act 5. Scene 2.

Dido. Barce the nurse.

DIDO : My beloved Barce, whose arms often embraced my husband, I call to witness the gods and your own sweet person, and this altar, that what you see is not being done by my will. My grief is in command and seeks a safe way out, by what means soever. Hence I hope that my grief can be soothed.
 BARCE : O would that it may be ! I am in doubt whether to believe or disbelieve that it can be so ! I pray that your fury may return you to yourself and to us, and put off all its strength.
 DIDO : Nay, do you take yourself to a place apart at a distance and let me be left alone to my incantations.
 Begin, O bard, unaccustomed to these rites, speak the incantation. Use an unaccustomed gait and habit, the one they say is like Medea's.

	Umbraeque pavidae, tuque squalentis Stygis	
	Ferale numen coniugis raptor tuae,	
	Tricepsque rictum Cerbere expandens truncem,	
	Altaeque tenebrae noctis, et nunquam satis	
	Hecate triformis dicta, et immensum chaos	1030
	Informe pondus, quamque tergemina vocant	
	Diana, noctis conscia, et iudex mali	
	Adeste. tristes noctuae et dirae Stryges	
50	Et Hydra, cuius Herculem attrivit diu	
	Iterata cervix, tuque vix manibus dei	1035
	Superate Python tetra serpentum lues	
	Adeste ; vos qui colitis aethereas domos	
	Quocunque diffugistis, acciti his sacris	
	Adeste; montes, flumina, et venti, lacus	
	Amnesque valles, maria, et herbarum genus,	1040
	Quotquot viretis flore mortifero simul	
	Adeste ; vestras postulat carmen manus.	
	Abigendus amor est : ferte subsidium, graves	
60	Auferte curas, quaestibus finem date.	
BARCE :	Dent oro finem : fluctuans cesset dolor	1045
	Aestumque ponat animus indocilis pati	
	Tantum malorum pondus.	
DIDO :	en clamor meas	
	Percellit aures, et ferit mentem stupor.	
	Tremisco. gelidum concipit pectus metum,	
	Horrore quatior, sic tygres orbae furunt.	1050

O inhabitants of silent Erebus, an unspeakable race, and quaking shades, and you, deadly divinity of the filthy Styx, abductor of your wife, and three headed Cerberus opening your savage jaw, and deep darknesses of night, and three-formed Hecate never invoked enough, and immense Chaos, an unformed mass, and Diana, whom they call the threefold goddess, conscious of night and judge of evil, be present. Sad night owls, and dread screech owls and the Hydra, whose neck for a long time growing again wore down Hercules, and you, Python, scarce conquered at the hands of a god, foul plague of serpents, be present. Be present all you who dwell in the regions of heaven, whithersoever you have fled, summoned by these sacred rites. Be present, mountains, rivers, and winds, lakes, torrents and valleys, seas and all the species of herbs that flourish in deathbearing flower. My incantation asks your aid. My love must be driven away. Bring your help, bear away your cares, and give me an end to my complaints.

BARCE : May they give you an end, I pray. May your restless pain cease, and your mind lay aside its passion, untaught to bear such a weight of misfortune.

DIDO : See, the clamor strikes my ears, and stupor strikes my mind. I tremble. My breast conceives a chill fear. I shake with horror : thus do bereaved tigresses rage.

Compesce gemitus ; qua iuvat, fallax eat.
 Tyro recedat. magica virtus id sapit
 Ut mente careas peius ? insiste obsecro
 Iramque cohibe.

DIDO : fiat, ad sacrum voca
 Annam sororem ; dic lavet corpus suum 1080
 Pecudesque coram sistat et vitta insuper
 Ornet capillos. tuque venienti comes
 Accede : Stygio vota iam solvam deo.

100 BARCE : Regina, monitis Anna parebit tuis.
 Aderitque Barce.

(Exit Barce.)

DIDO : sacra num dixi Iovi ? 1085

Nunquam expianda sacra : cum terra audiet
 Pontusque et aether, audiet Ditis domus
 Et quicquid uspiam est sceleris odio mei
 Capientur. o sol qui veheris axe arduo
 Aurate Titan, conscia incaepti mei 1090

110 Germania et eadem coniugi coniux Iovi,
 Ululata triviis Hecate, et Eumenides ferae
 Et vos Elisae vindices superi piaae
 Audite, moriens ultimas fundo preces.

Audite : fixus pendeat rupe aspera 1095

this effect - that you should lose your mind, in a worse state? Halt, I pray
 and restrain your anger.

DIDO : Let it be done. Call my sister Anna to the sacred rites. Tell her to wash her
 body, and to bring the cattle into my presence, and moreover to adorn her
 hair with a fillet. Do you accompany her when she comes. I will now offer
 up my prayers to the Stygian god.

BARCE : O queen, Anna will obey your commands. And Barce will be present.

(Exit Barce.)

DIDO : Have I spoken the rites of Jupiter ? When the earth, the air and the sea
 hear of my never to be expiated rites, the home of Pluto will hear them
 too, and everything everywhere will be seized with hatred of my crime. O
 sun, golden Titan who are borne on steep axis, and Juno, conscious of my
 undertaking, sister and at the same time wife of Jupiter, and Hecate
 invoked at the crossroads, and wild Furies, and you gods above avengers of
 dutiful Dido, hear me ; as I die I pour forth my final prayers.

Sanieque spargat aequor, et tabo fluat
 Prius, petito quam pedem figat vado
 Troianus hospes. sin Iovis fatum volet
 Adnare terris prospere infandum caput
 Lactatus armis, finibus patriae suae 1100
 Extorris, etiam avulsus amplexu tuo
 Iūle, quaerat exteram infaelix opem,
 Gentisque videat funus ac stragem suae.
 Nactusque pacem rursus e regno cadat,
 Vitaque iaceat truncus, algensque evomat, 1105
 Inhumatum arena, cuncta quoque tumulum negent.
 Elisa, Elisa fatur in tenuem prope
 Resoluta ventum, et spiritum ducens brevem.
 Tum vos futuram stirpem et Aeneadum genus
 Tyria propago, cura iamdudum mea 1110
 Vexate, bellis desit odiisque exitus,
 Has consecrate funeri inferias precor
 Cinerique nostro, nullus aut populis amor
 Aut faedus esto. vindicem pariant mihi
 Haec ossa, cuius Dardanam extinguunt faces 1115
 Enseque gentem. fluctui fluctum imprecor
 Et tela telis obiiici, et ripae obviam
 Pugnare ripam, denique aeternum petat
 Nepos nepotem, iubeoque aeternum petat.
 Vos, vos priori tempore exuviae mihi 1120

Hear me ; may the Trojan guest hang suspended on a harsh rock and sprinkle the sea with his blood ; and may it flow with gore, before he place his step in the sought-for shallows. But if the destiny of Jupiter wishes his accursed person to reach land safely, then, driven up and down in arms, an exile from the bounds of his country, and also plucked from your embrace, O Iulus, may he seek foreign aid in his misery, and see the ruin and slaughter of his own race ; and when he has obtained peace may he again lose the kingdom, and lie devoid of life, and may the cold sand spew him up unburied, and may all things deny him a tomb. Elisa, Elisa speaks, almost dissolved into the slender wind, with but a short space of life remaining.

Then, Carthaginian progeny, for a long time my care, harass his children yet unborn and the race of Trojans, and may there be no end to wars and hatred. Pay these rites to death and to my ashes, I pray, and let there be no love or treaty between our peoples. May these bones obtain for me an avenger, who will exterminate by fire and sword the Trojan race. I call upon wave to be set against wave, and weapons against weapons, and shore to fight with shore, and then for ever, aye, for ever, let grandchild fight with grandchild.

Dulces (iniquas quamdiu fatum vices
 Inhibuit) animam tristibus fessam malis
 Accipite meque liberam curis date.
 140 Vixi, et peregi quem dedit casus diem
 Iamque umbra terras subter evadet mea. 1125
 Urbs alta per me condita et muris decor
 Praeclarus, ulta coniugem paenas tuli
 De fratre. faelix heu nimis faelix forem
 Si constitissent littore in nostro rates
 Nunquam scelestae Phrygia quas rexit manus. 1130
 An ergo inulta moriar ? at moriar tamen
 Sic ? sic sub umbras ire pallentes iuvat.
 150 Hanc lustret oculis Dardanus flammam impiis,
 Omenque secum asportet indigenae necis.

Actus 5. Scena 3.

Anna. Barce. Ancillae sacrificantes.

BARCE : Eheu quod oculis perspicio factum meis ? 1135
 Regina moritur, impia incubuit sibi.
 ANNA : Moriturne ?
 BARCE : iacet exanguis.

You, you, trophies sweet to me in a former time, (as long as fate withheld unfair tricks) receive my soul weary with sad troubles, and set me free from cares. I have lived, I have lived out the time fate gave me, and now my soul will escape to the lands below.

The high city was founded by me, and the glory of its walls was outstanding, and having avenged my husband I inflicted punishment upon my brother. Happy, ah ! too happy would I now be if the cursed ships which the Phrygian hand guides had never put in at my shores. And am I then to die ? Shall I die thus ? Thus, it pleases me to go to the pallid shades. May the Trojan see this flame with impious eyes, and carry away with him the omen of the death of a native citizen.

Act 5. Scene 3.

Anna. Barce. Sacrificing handmaidens.

BARCE : Alas, what deed do my eyes behold ? The queen is dying : impiously she
 has turned her hand upon herself.
 ANNA : She is dying ?
 BARCE : She lies lifeless.

ANNA :	<p style="text-align: right;">o miseras vices</p> <p>Miseram sororem. misera divorum sacra. Ite, ite, famam spargite in vulgus, meet Ubique rumor. atria ingeminent sonum, 1140 Vocemque mortis regiae, totam impleat Ululatus urbem, tecta lamentis fremant Planctuque caelum. o Dido Sydonium decus 160 Germana Dido. respice sororem tuam. An me petebas fraudibus ? an istud rogos 1145 Parabat ? arae, cespites, taedae, faces ? Deserta primum quid loquar, quidve ingemam ? Carere poteras comite ? non poteras idem Partire fatum ? quam melius idem dolor Eademque socias hora mactasset duas ? 1150 Hiisne ergo manibus ipsa funebrem pyram Struxi, deosque precibus oravi meis 170 Ut sic abessem ? te soror pessum dedi Populumque, et urbem, meque et indigenas patres. Date date lymphas, vulnus intenta abluam. 1155 Atque ore si quis halitus superest legam.</p>
BARCE :	<p>O spes inanes, omnis incassum labor Locatur : ecce tollit ac ponit caput, Cubitoque nixa decidit, in altum vibrat, Oculosque rursum claudit errantes : ubi 1160</p>

ANNA :	<p>O wretched fates - O wretched sister, O wretched rites of the gods. Go, go, spread the news abroad amongst the people : let the rumour wander everywhere. Let the halls re-double the sound, and the news of the queen's death. Let wailing fill the whole city. Let the roofs resound with lamentations, and heaven with mourning. O Dido, glory of the Carthaginians, Dido, my sister. Remember your sister. Did you intend treachery towards me ? Is this what the pyre was for ? Altars, turves, flambeaux, torches ? Deserted what can I say first or what bemoan ? Could you go without your companion ? Could you not share the same fate ? How much better it would have been had the same hour and the same grief slaughtered the two sisters ? Did I myself with my own hands build the funeral pyre, and beseech the gods with my prayers, to be thus absent ?</p>
	<p>I undid you, my sister, and undid the people and the city and myself and our ancestors. Give me, give me, water. Attentively I will wash the wound. And I will gather with my lips any last breath.</p>
BARCE :	<p>O empty hopes : all my labour is expended in vain. See, she raises and lets fall her head, and leaning on her elbow, she falls, and high uplifts her eyes,</p>

180 Iam prisca virtus ? prisca maiestas ? honor
Antiquus urbis ? exulat : reditus datur
Spes nulla : Dido dederat ac Dido abstulit.
Resolver ecce gratia in planctus tua.
Lachrimisque nunquam deero. non reperit dolor 1165
Plus quod litaret : et frequens lachrimas dabit.
ANNA : O si miserta Iuno quae thalami fuit
Author iugalis, posse iam sineret cita
Perire morte, pereat o superi cito.

Actus 5. Scena 4.

Iris. Anna.

IRIS :	Thaumante genita principis venio deae	1170
	Ministra : fatum implere mandatur tuum.	
	Moramque mortis tollere urgentis prope.	
190	En hos capillos iussa Plutoni sacros	
	Dicabo, teque corpore exolvam tuo.	
	(Exit.)	
ANNA :	Elisa, nisi te forte necquicquam voco.	1175
	Vale supremum, soror in aeternum vale.	
	Compellat Anna mortuam. Dido vale,	
	Reditura nunquam. quo meas lachrimas feram ?	
	Aut quo querelas ? taedet illarum deos,	
	Et me pigebit ipsam : et assiduis parum est	1180

and again closes them as they wander. Where now is her former virtue, her former majesty, and the ancient honour of the city ? It is exiled. No hope of return is given. Dido had given it, and Dido took it away. Behold, I shall be for your sake dissolved to lamentation and I shall never cease to weep. My grief can offer nothing more ; but it will often offer tears.

ANNA : Oh, if Juno the patroness of the marriage bed had pity, she would now allow her to perish in a swift death. O gods above, may she die swiftly.

Act 5. Scene 4.

Iris. Anna.

IRIS : I come, attendant of the chief goddess, the daughter of Thaumus. I am commanded to fulfil your fates, and to take away the delay of death which presses close. See, as ordered I consecrate these sacred hairs to Pluto, and I will free you from your body.

(Exit.)

ANNA : Elisa, if by chance I do not call you in vain, farewell for ever, farewell my sister forever. Anna addresses you although you are dead. Farewell Dido, never to return. Whither shall I bear my tears ? Whither my complaints ? The gods are weary of them, and they trouble me myself. And it is not

Rigere lachrimis. aliud exequiae rogant
 Sororis : an vos o lares, miseri lares
 Viduata comite amplectar ? an thalamos petam
 200 Relicta ? caeli ac lucis aspectu fruar,
 Orbata ? dira, invisâ, devota omnia. 1185
 Cunctaris Anna ? propera, et inferias vove,
 Non has minores, anima pendatur tua.
 Elide fauces baltheo, en ferro prius
 Scrutata soror est viscera, et rupit fibras.
 I, curre, sequere, munus authori suo 1190
 Gratetur : explet optimam hoc munus vicem.

Chorus.

Quae vexant Tyriam fata propaginem ?
 Quae clades agitat ? quanta calamitas ?
 210 Extinctus decor est urbis et invida
 Vitae tota fuit regia stirps suae. 1195
 Annam Dido necat. perfuga Dardanus
 Didonem : Tyriis utraque matribus
 Lugubrem subita morte tulit diem.
 O devota ratis quae dedit advenam
 His oris Phrygium, saevior at ratis 1200

enough to be numb with constant tears. The funeral rites of my sister demand something else. Can I embrace you, O Lares, O wretched Lares, now that I am bereaved of my companion ? Or shall I thus forsaken seek marriage ? Shall I enjoy the sight of heaven and the light, thus bereaved ? All things are dread, hateful, cursed. Do you delay, Anna ? Hasten, and consecrate your rites ; not any lesser rites : let your own life be sacrificed. Crush your throat with the sword belt ; see, your sister has already explored her bowels with the sword, and rent open her entrails. Go, run, follow ; may this duty be pleasing to her who inspired me to it. This duty fulfils the best purpose.

Chorus

What fates harass the offspring of Tyre ? What disaster troubles them ? How great a calamity ? The glory of the city has fallen ; and all the royal stock has been envious of its own life. Dido kills Anna, the Trojan deserter Dido. Each has brought by their sudden death a mournful day to the Carthaginian mothers.

O cursed the ship which brought the Trojan stranger to these shores - but that ship was

Quae rursum pelago reddidit impium.
 Diris illa fides dignior omnibus
 Quae solvit thalamos perfida regios.
 220 Getulos metuit Punica gens prius,
 Illos esse malum tum rata maximum : 1205
 Nunc aerumna metum fortior expulit :
 Desperata salus nil penitus timet.
 Sic fatum voluit, sic aliquis deus
 Iussit quisquis erat. stant adamantinis
 Consignata notis funera gentium . 1210
 Quod nobis reliquum fecit adhuc dolor
 Defunctae dabimus. planctus erit frequens,
 Siccas nulla dies aspiciet genas.

Epilogus.

Iam nacta tandem est exitum Dido suum,
 Utinam expetitur, quem tamen potuit tulit. 1215
 Et scripta, et acta tempus excuset breve.
 Nunc quisque reputet quid sibi hinc referat boni.
 Venus inimico credere antiquo vetat.
 Ut faveat hostis, cogitat semper dolos,
 Ut Iuno Teucris sit bona insidias struit. 1220
 Fidemque opemque regium est miseris dare.
 Hospitia claram magna nobilitant domum.

crueller which bore the traitor away again to the sea. That treacherous loyalty which undoes the royal marriage is more worthy of all disasters.

The Carthaginian race formerly feared the Getuli ; thinking then that they were the greatest evil. Now a stronger tribulation has driven away fear. Safety that is despaired of is utterly afraid of nothing.

Thus did fate wish, thus some god, whichever it was, commanded. The deaths of nations are written down in letters of adamant.

What time on earth grief ordains for us, we will devote to the departed Dido. Our lamentation will be perpetual, and no day shall ever see our cheeks free from tears.

Epilogue.

Dido has at last come to an end. Would that it were the one we wanted ; but it has obtained the end it could. Let a brief moment exonerate both the play and the performance.

Now let every spectator consider what moral he may draw from this. Love forbids one to trust an ancient enemy. Although an enemy may favour, he always thinks of trickery ;

10	Beneficio quicumque districtus manet, Capite minuitur, esse liber desinit ; Sit gratus usque licet at, ingrate, audiet. 1225 Iunonia male expressa tempestas, docet Habenda quae sit Prometheis posthac fides. Nec posse quenquam fulmen imitari Iovis. Decet obsequentes esse praemonitis deum, Omnisque nimia est, sit licet brevior, mora. 1230 Molles moveri faeminae lachrimis solent, Sed fortis aures obstruere debet suas.
20	Promerita si maiora detineant bona Quaecunque fuerint, neminem vinctum tenent. Externa raro connubia cedunt bene, 1235 Vis magna amoris : faeminas gravior solet Corripere flamma, levior accendit viros. Sed vita paucas nostra Didones videt, Prudentiores faeminas factas reor : Amore nullam credo morituram gravi. 1240 Sed una longe, Dido, te superat tamen. Regina virgo : quot tulit casus pia ?
30	Quae regna statuit ? quam dat externis opem ? Dignata nullo coniuge Sychaeo tamen, Animumque nullus flectat Aeneas suum. 1245 Tamen ecce maior hospes Aenea hospite. Cui verba, Dido, rectius quadrent tua : Quis iste nuper sedibus nostris novus Successit hospes ? ore quem sese ferens ? Quam fortis alto pectore armisque inclytus ? 1250

although Juno may be good to the Trojans, she prepares treachery. It is a royal act to give faith and help to the wretched. Great hospitality ennobles a famous household. Whoever remains bound by an obligation, is diminished in person, and ceases to be free ; although he may be ever grateful, he will be considered an ingrate. The badly-arranged storm of Juno teaches what trust should be placed in Prometheuses after this ; and that no-one can imitate the thunderbolt of Jove. It is right to be obedient to the warnings of the gods. All delay is excessive, even if it is short. Women are soft and can be moved by tears ; but a strong man ought to block up his ears. If personal obligation prevents a greater good, it binds no-one. Marriages with foreigners rarely turn out well. The power of love is great. A heavier passion is wont to seize hold of women, a lighter one kindles men. But our time sees few Didos. I think that women have been made more prudent. I think that none will die for a great passion.

But one Dido excels you by far, however, a royal maiden. How many turns of fate did she holily endure ? What kingdoms has she founded ? What aid does she give to strangers ? She deigned to take no Sychaeus for a husband, however, and may no Aeneas sway her mind. Yet see, here is a greater guest than Aeneas was, to whom your words, Dido, would more rightly apply. "What guest has recently arrived at our abodes ? Of what distinguished appearance ? How brave in mighty breast, and distinguished in arms. I believe he is of the race of the gods, nor is my belief vain."

Genus esse divum credo, nec vana est fides.

Sed Elysa fato Tyria miserando occubat.

40

At nostra Elysa vivit, et vivat precor,

Talesque regnans hospites videat diu :

Sabae saluent undique, et magni duces.

1255

Huic vos Elisae tollere applausum decet.

Finis.

Tyrian Elisa dies by wretched fate. But our Elisa lives, and long may she live, I pray, and reigning may she long see such guests. Let the queens of Sheba and the great leaders, greet you on all sides. It behoves you to offer applause to this Elisa.

The end.

Dido : Commentary *

Prologus

- 5 *Hesterna Mopsum scena ridiculum dedit*, / a reference to the performance on the previous day of *Rivales*.
- 10 *Tulit omne punctum tristia admiscens iocis*, / Cf.:
 Nec levibus misce seria dicta iocis.
 (Gager, *Poems*, B.M. Add. MS. 22583, p. 36)
- and :
 Et tua lepidis seria mista iocis
 (Gager, *Poems*, B.M. Add. MS. 22583, p. 91)
- and :
 et lepidis seria dicta iocis
 (Gager, *Poems*, B.M. Add. MS. 22583, p. 121)
- and :
 Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci,
 (Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 343).

Argumentum

- 8 *Tyrios bilingues quippe et ambiguam domum* / Cf.:
 quippe domum timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis ;
 (Vergil, *Aeneid*, I, 661).
- 11 *Ascanii* / Ascanius, also known as Iulus, son of Aeneas and Creusa
- 13 *Eliza* / Elisa, (or Elissa) another name for Dido
- 14 *Anna* / sister of Dido

Act I

- 1 - 78 The first scene of this Act is expanded from *Aeneid*, I, 657-690.
- 2 *filio...meo* / i.e., Aeneas, son of Venus by Anchises (and therefore half-brother of Cupid).
- 11 and 15 *Odium cruentae Palladis... Odium Minervae* / Minerva had been hostile to the Trojans since she had been slighted by the judgement of Paris.
- 21 *Aeolus* / god of the winds
- Notum* / the South wind
- 22 *Africum* / the South-west wind
- 27 - 28 *Tuus est, videre quid velis fieri, labor,*
Mihi fas capessam iussa, / Cf. the words of Aeolus to Juno :
 tuus, o regina, quid optes,
 explorare labor ; mihi iussa capessere fas est.
 (Vergil, *Aeneid*, I, 76-77).
- 44 *Paenos* / the Carthaginians
- 46 *Atlante natum* / Mercury, son of Jupiter and of Maia daughter of Atlas
- 55 *Teucris* / the Trojans, (from *Teucer*, onetime king of Troy)
- 58 *Achatem* / Achates, Aeneas's armour-bearer and faithful friend
- 62 - 66 *Notosque vultus induas pueri puer.*

 Spires amorem et ignis inspires facem. / Cf. :
 notos pueri puer indue vultus,

* In my reference to classical authors, I use the standard Teubner editions.

ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido
regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,
cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,
occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.

(Vergil, *Aeneid*, I, 684-688).

67 - 69

Idalium super
Montem recondam, et blandulo somno premam
Ne forte nostris medius occurrat dolis. / Cf. :
hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera
aut super Idalium sacrata sede recondam,
nequa scire dolos mediussve occurrere possit.

(Vergil, *Aeneid*, I, 680-682).

Idalium was a mountain city in Cyprus sacred to Venus.

73

Aetnaeis / i.e., belonging to mount Etna, the volcano

74 - 75

Non ipse terris maior Oceanus meos

Extinguet ignes / Cf. :

non ipse terris maior Oceanus meos
franget vapores

(Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1366-67).

102 - 209

The third and fourth scenes of this Act are taken almost word for word from *Aeneid*, I, 520-630.

126

Orion / the constellation Orion, whose rising and setting are accompanied by storms

145

Rex...Acestes / a mythical king of Sicily

150

Sicaniae / Sicania, the island of Sicily

172

Orontes / A chief of the Lycii and companion of Aeneas

179

Danaum / the Greeks

202

Sidona / Sidon, an ancient and famous Phoenician city.

Teucer / Teucer, step-brother of Ajax, and the best archer of the Greeks at Troy. On his return from the war, his father Telamon refused to receive him because he had not avenged the death of his brother Ajax nor brought back his remains. Teucer sailed away to find a new home, and found it in Cyprus, which was given to him by Belus, Dido's father.

223

Spem dat afflictis sine spe fuisse : / Cf. :

Qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil.

(Seneca, *Medea*, 163).

See also V, 223, below.

224 - 225

Et salus victi sine spe salutis

Dicitur esse./Cf. :

una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

(Vergil, *Aeneid*, II, 354).

Act 2.

2 - 3

Olim iuvabit quod fuit durum pati

Meminisse. / Cf. :

meorare dulce est

Quod pati durum nimis ah fuisset)

(Gager, *In Catilinarias Proditiones ac Proditores Domesticos*, Ode III, (11. 33-34) ed. C.F. Tucker Brooke, in " *Some Pre - Armada Propagandist Poetry in England*,"

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LXXXV(1941)
71-83.)

and :

forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit

(Vergil, *Aeneid*, I. 203)

and :

quae fuit durum pati,
meminisse dulce est.

(Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 656-657).

13 - 14

laetitia gestit levis

Ingens stupescit / Cf. :

Magnus quippe dolor siccus stupet, at minor exit
Actutum in voces,

(Gager, *Exequiae Philippi Sidnaei*
(Oxford, 1587) sig. B4v.)

The idea derives from :

Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.

(Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 607).

25 - 28

Urbs ista Troiae praebuit speciem mihi,
.....

Hic breviter oculis subiici videas tuis. /

One of the dishes at Dido's banquet was evidently a confectionary model of a town, from which, in lines 30-46 the false Ascanius conjures up a description of the site and fall of Troie. As Boas observed (*University Drama* p. 185), in his account of the play, (see above p. 169) Holinshed refers inaccurately to this incident : "the queen's banquet (with Eneas narration of the destruction of Troie was livelie described in a marchpaine (lit. *marzipan* : here used as the type of something sweet or delicious) patterne." It is not Aeneas but the false Ascanius who here briefly relates the fall of Troie; and the "marchpaine patterne" was one of the dishes at the banquet. From the reference in line 27 to Aeneas' narration of the previous night, it is evident that at least a day has passed since Aeneas and the Trojans were received by Dido.

31 - 32

Hac Simois ibat fluvius, hic densis sita est

Mons Ida silvis, hac stetit Tenedos via, / Cf. :

Hac ibat Simois, hac est Sigeia tellus,

Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis :

(Ovid, *Heroides*, I, 33-34)

Simois...fluvius / a small river in the vicinity of Troie

Mons Ida / Mount Ida, a mountain near Troie scene of the judgement of Paris

Tenedos / an island in the Aegean sea, off the coast of Troie

33

Cilla, Chrise, / towns near Troie

37

Pergami / Pergamum, another name for Troie

39

Priami / Priam, king of Troie

40

Anchisae / Anchises, father of Aeneas

45

Sinonis / the Greek who induced the Trojans to receive within their walls the wooden horse

55

The minstrel Iopas, whose song commences at this line, is found in *Aeneid*, I, 742-746 -- where, however, the theme of his song is totally different.

56

Lyciumve / Apollo is so called because of his oracle at Lycia, a country in Asia minor.

- 75 *Est minor nemo nisi comparatus* : / Cf. :
est miser nemo nisi comparatus.
(Seneca, *Troades*, 1023).
- 79 *Cynthiae* / Diana, goddess of the moon. Diana was born on Mount Cynthus in Delos.
- 105 *Troili* / Troilus, son of Priam, slain by Achilles
- 106 *Scaee* / the Scaean gate – see above, 1.38.
- Helenus Sacer* / son of Priam and Hecuba, a celebrated soothsayer
- 107 *Rhesique equorum raptus* / a Thracian king who was robbed by Diomedes and Ulysses of his horses whilst he was fighting on the side of Troy.
- Pirrhus* / Pyrrhus, son of Achilles and Deidamia, and slayer of Priam
- 108 *prima Troiae fata* / the fates, or luck of Troy
- 109 *Flavae sacratum Palladis signum deae*, / i.e., the Palladium, the image of Pallas which fell from heaven when Ilus was king, and which was carried off during the Trojan war by Ulysses and Diomedes, since the fate of the city depended on its possession.
- 110 *Et cum sagittis arcus et pharetra Herculis*. / Philoctetes, son of Poeas, and companion of Hercules, was given by Hercules at his death the poisoned arrows without which Troy could not be taken. He was left by the Greeks on the isle of Lemnos on account of the smell proceeding from his wounded foot, but later, after having been taken by Ulysses to Troy, where his wounded was healed, he slew Paris.
- 113 *Ilus* / son of Tros, father of Laomedon, king of the Trojans and founder of Ilium.
- 133 *Natus Alcmena* / i.e., Hercules, son of Jupiter and Alcmena.
- 135 *Paeante genite* / i.e., Philoctetes, son of Poeas - see above, 1. 110, n.
- 138 *Pelasgis* / the Greeks
- 140 *Helenus* / see above, 1. 106,n.
- 141 *Ithaci* / i.e., Ulysses
- 143 *Alcidae* / i.e. Hercules, grandson of Alceus
- 156-157 *Si rite pateram solitus hanc Belus tibi*
Implere vino, et quisquis a Belo minor, / Cf. :
implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
a Belo soliti ; (Vergil, *Aeneid*, I, 729-730).
Belus was the father of Dido.
- 161 *Phrygibus* / Phrygians, i.e., Trojans, because Troy was in Phrygia in Asia Minor.
- 164 *Satis epularum, luxui satis est datum* / Cf. :
dapibus, ac ludis datum
Satis, superque est ;
(Gager, *Meleager* (Oxford, 1592) sig. B2v.)
- 177 *Iarbas* / Iarbas, a king of Mauritania, and one of Dido's suitors
- 192 *Theseus doceat Ariadnae malo*, / Theseus deserted Ariadne, daughter of King Minos of Crete, on the island of Naxos, after having slain the Minotaur and returned safely from the labyrinth through Ariadne's help.
- 193 *Iason Medae* / Jason abandoned Medea, who had helped him to obtain the Golden Fleece, in order to marry Creusa, daughter of Creon king of Corinth.
- 197-258 This scene between Dido and Anna is taken virtually word for word from *Aeneid* IV, 9-59, as follows :
lines 197-210 derive from *Aeneid* IV, 9-19
211-217 24-29

- lines 218-238 derive from *Aeneid* IV, 31-49
 239-246 20-25
 247-251 50-53
 252-257 54-59
- 213 *Erebi...horrendam Styga* / Erebus is the god of darkness and the name is here used as a synonym for the Lower World ; of which the river Styx was one of the principal rivers.
- 228 *Getuli* / a people of northwestern Africa, who lived in the land now called Marocco
- 229 *Numidae* / a North African people who dwelt between Mauritania and the territory of Carthage, in the modern Algeria
- 230 *Syrtis* / a sandbank in the sea off the northern coast of Africa
- 232 *Barcae* / inhabitants of Barce, a town in Northern Africa
- 232 *quid graves fratris minas* / Dido's brother Pygmalion had murdered her husband Sychaeus, and usurped the kingdom of Tyre. Dido fled the kingdom to found the city of Carthage, accompanied by a band of faithful followers.
- 234 *Dardanas* / Trojan, (from Dardanus, founder of the city of Dardania in Troas, and ancestor of the royal race of Troy)
- 240-242 *post miserum mei*
Fatum Sichaei, et caede fraterne impie
Sparsos Penates / referring to the murder by Dido's brother Pygmalion of her husband Sychaeus
- 256 *Cereri* / Ceres, goddess of agriculture
- 259-287 This chorus is taken almost word for word from *Aeneid* IV, 65-78 and 86-91.
- 275 *Sidonias* / lit., belonging to Sidon ; see above, I, 202, n.
- 285 *Pendent altae murorum minae* / Cf. :
 Abrupta pendent opera, et ingentes minae
 Murorum, et alto machinae caelo pares :
 (Gager, B.M. Add.MS. 22583 p. 114)

Act 3.

- 1 - 3 *Tellure scissa, per vias saxo asperas*
Maestum Sichaeus Tartaro gressum extuli.
Atram sinistra praeferens taedam, / Cf. :
 Vastam relinquens noctis aeternae plagam,
 Silentis Erebi, et manium tristes domos,
 Megaera superas extuli ad sedes gradum.
 (Gager, *Meleager*, sig. A7v.)
- and
 Tandem relicto noctis infernae specu
 Ad amacniores extuli superum domos
 (Gager, *Panniculus Hippolyte Senecae Tragoediae assutus*, I, 1-2 - ed. J.W. Binns, op.cit.,n.3.
- and : Inauspicata, Tartaro peior, domus
 Malo execranda semper et diris mihi
 In te reliqui noctis aeternae loca
 (Gager, *Poems* B.M. Add.MS. 22583 p. 114).
- The idea can be traced back to :
 Opaca linquens Ditis inferni loca

adsum profundo Tartari emissus specu.

(Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 1-2).

Cf. also Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 835, and *Octavia*, 593-595.

14

Paris / the abductor of Helen

22

Stabo et arcebo nefas / Cf. :

Stabo, et arcebo nefas

(Gager, *Panniculus Hippolyto Senecae Tragoediae assutus*, I, 20,
ed. J.W. Binns, op.cit., n.3.)

and

Stabo et arcebo scelus --

(Seneca, *Thyestes*, 95).

22 - 23

Stage Direction : *Tempestas*. / Gager refers disparagingly to this storm as
"male expressa" in the Epilogue II. 13-15. Holinshed also refers to
this storm :

"the tempest wherein it hailed small confects, rained rosewater,
and sned an artificiall kind of snow : all strange, marvellous, and
abundant." (See above p. 170)

57 - 58

Stage Direction : *Redeunt a venatione* / "there was also a goodlie sight of
hunters with full crie of a kennel of hounds,"

(Holinshed : see above p. 169-70).

Stage Direction : *Caelitus dilapsus* / "Mercurie and Iris descending and
ascending from and to an high place."

(Holinshed : see above p. 170).

Clearly a *deus ex machina* device was used here.

73 - 81

Seu petere terram, seu fretum supra placet

.....

Nubesque moti turbidas trano aetheris. /

These lines are a reworking of Vergil, *Aeneid* IV. 241-246.

76

pallidi...Ditis / Dis was the god of the Lower World.

79

pressa morte lumina resigno gravi. / Mercury opens the eyes of the dead
whom he is about to conduct to Orcus.

84-104

These lines are an almost word-for-word reworking of Vergil, *Aeneid* IV,
as follows :

lines 84- 97 are taken from *Aeneid* IV, 265-276

98 234

99-103 227-231

104 237

105-117

These lines are loosely based on Vergil, *Aeneid* IV, 279-284.

110

Euripus / the channel between Boeotia and Euboea

130

At hospitalis Iupiter prohibet fugam. / Cf. :

Omnem hospitalis Iuppiter raptum vetat.

(Gager, *Meleager*, sig. B5v.)

150-157

Obsiste lachrimis iamque te intractabilem

.....

Radice tantum extenditur in imam Styga. /

These lines are closely based on Vergil, *Aeneid* IV, 439-446.

162-169

At Mnesteia Cloanthumque rectores iube

.....

Idonea, rebus quis modus dexter tuis. /

These lines are based on Vergil, *Aeneid* IV, 288-294.

Textual Commentary

Prologue

Line No.	Reading of this edition	Christ Church MS	British Museum MS
Title	Prologus	Prologus	Prologus in Didonem tragaediam
1	fragiles	fragiles	varias
2	parit.	parit.	parit:
5	dedit ,	dedit,	dedit
8	tamen ,	tamen,	tamen
13	lachrymae	lachrymae	lachrymae

Argumentum

Line No.	Reading of this edition	Christ Church MS.	British Museum MS
1	facit :	facit :	facit.
6	excipit Dido hospitem :	Dido hospitem excipit : (marked for transposition to reading adopted.)	excipit Dido hospitem.
7	Venus,	Venus,	Venus
13	hospitem.	hospitem.	hospitem:
15	diem:	diem :	diem.
17	Lybia :	Lybia :	Libya.
19	ille navigat,	ille navigat,	ille, navigat
20	At Dido	At Dido	Elisa

Act I

The Christ Church MS. is the only source for this Act.

	Reading of this edition	Reading of Christ Church MS	Other comments
15	malum,	malum	
27	labor,	labor	
56			<i>Elizae/</i> follows the deleted letters <i>grat.</i>
59			<i>huc /</i> interlineated.
68	premam	premam.	
78			<i>regia en /</i> marked for insertion at this point in place of deleted words <i>faciam brevi</i> , and the deleted line : <i>ut linquat aras eius et faveat tuis.</i>

93	ferunt	ferunt,	
139			<i>adhuc / huc</i> is interlineated.
154	graves ;	graves	
162			<i>mecum/ c</i> is interlineated
163	usum liberum	liberum usum (marked for transposition).	
185	Orbe in Troiae	Troiae in orbe (marked for transposition)	
202	veniret,	veniret ;	

Act II

	Reading of this edition	Christ Church MS	British Museum MS	Other comments
	Actus 2.	Actus 2 ^{us}	Actus	
	Scena I.	Scena ia.	Secundus	
	Ascanius (falsus.)	Ascanius .	Ascanius falsus.	
1	magis :	magis :	magis	
5	quaeso ;	quaeso ;	quaeso.	
6	Princeps,	Princeps,	princeps	
7	aulam	aulam	Aulam	
	advena,	advena,	advena	
8	viae,	viae,	viae	
9	Troia	Troia	Traia	
11	Regina ,	Regina	Regina,	
12	explicit :	explicit :	explicit	
13	animum :	animum :	animum.	
14	silet.	silet.	silet :	
17	extremis	extremis	aerumnis	
25	mihi,	mihi,	mihi	
27	altius	altius.	altius	
28	tuis.	tuis	tuis.	
32	silvis,	silvis,	sylvis	
	via,	via,	via	
36	castra	castra	castra,	
39	lares ,	lares,	lares	
43	caedes.	caedes ?	caedes.	
44	virum	virum	ducum	
48	patrem,	patrem,	patrem	
50	Divinam, Iüle,	Divinam, Iüle,	Divinam Iüle	
	indolem :	indolem :	indolem	
51	tibi,	tibi,	tibi	
54	filium, genitor,	filium genitor	filium, genitor,	
68	Inclitum	Inclitum	Inclytum	
	prisci :	prisci :	prisci,	

70	oras.	oras.	oras :
71	tantus	tantus :	tantus
75	comparatus :	comparatus :	comparatus,
80	Elisae.	Elisae.	Elisae
84	sequerisque	sequirisque	sequerisque
89	aulam,	aulam,	Aulam
95	Teucrum ,	Teucrum	Teucrum
96	hae, nec	hae, ne	hae nec
	mihi .	mihi.	mihi
97	cibos,	cibos,	cibos
99	regna :	regna ;	regna :
	non Carthaginis	non Carthaginis	quis Carthaginis
100	Hospicia	Hospicia	Hospitia,
	fecerim paria	fecerim paria	conferat quondam
	tuae.	tuae.	tuae ?
102	Ilii,	Ilii,	Ilii
103	Hospes	Hospes	hospes
105	lethum solet ;	laethum solet ;	lethum solet
106	sacer,	sacer,	Sacer
107			This line is written in the margin and marked for insertion at this point in the B.M. copy.
108	duo :	duo.	duo :
113	Exstrueret	Exstrueret	Extrueret
	Ilii	Ilii	Ilii
114	fertur,	fertur,	fertur
	means,	means,	means.
115	tenens,	tenens,	tenens.
117	Ilus,	Ilus,	Ilus :
	pius.	pius	pius :
120	tectis,	tectis,	tectis
	vestra, deam,	vestra, Deam,	vestra Deam
122	Ilus	Ilus	Ilus,
123	loco,	loco,	loco
125	Laomedon,	Laomedon,	Laomedon
	tibi	tibi .	tibi :
130	aptus,	aptus,	aptus
134	domos :	domos :	domos
135	genite,	genite	genite,
	cape :	cape :	cape.
137	sagittis :	sagittis :	sagittis In B.M. MS. <i>sagittis</i> is interlineated above a deleted <i>supremus</i> .
141	fraude	fraude	fraude,
144	licet,	licet,	licet
145	gloriae	gloriae	gloriae,
146	Hercules.	Hercules.	Hercules
149			<i>ictu</i> / in B.M. MS., follows deleted <i>io</i>

151	Phrigum.	Phrigum.	Phrygum
153	fuit.	fuit :	fuit.
154-168	The B.M. MS. treats this as two scenes ; lines 154-162 comprise a scene with Dido alone, and then after the stage direction <i>Libat Iovi</i> (found only in the B.M. MS.,) Ascanius is introduced to provide a scene with Dido, lines 163-168. In the Christ Church MS., Ascanius is introduced at l. 154, and ll. 154-168 are treated as one scene.		
154	deorum	deorum	Deorum
158	pariter,	pariter,	pariter
159	lucundam ;	lucundam ;	lucundam,
	olim	olim,	olim,
160	nostros :	nostros :	nostros.
162			

This line is found
only in the B.M.
MS.

Stage Direction

Libat Iovi / : This
stage direction is
found only in the
B.M. MS.

163	dapes.	dapes.	dapes,
164	epularum,	epularum,	epularum
166	ocyus	ocyus	ocius
171	factum,	factum,	factum
172	novum,	novum,	novum
175	oscitantem,	oscitantem,	oscitantem
177	lārbas	lārbas	lārbas

inultum / *in* is
interlineated,
in the Christ
Church MS.

179	sprevit,	sprevit,	sprevit ?
180	indigenas	indigenas	indigenas
184	nubet arbitrio	arbitrio nubet (marked for transposition)	nubet arbitrio
186	eripi,	eripi,	eripi
188	lārbae	lārbae	lārbae
189	duce,	duce,	duce
191	animo	animò	animo,
192	malo,	malo,	malo
193	Medeae :	Medeae :	Medeae.
200	pectore,	pectore,	pectore
	inclitus ?	inclitus ?	inclitus.
202	divum	divum	Divum
203	timor :	timor :	timor.
205	mihi,	mihi,	mihi
211	precor,	precor,	precor
212			

fulmine / follows
deleted *adigat*
in B.M. MS.

213	horrendam	horrendam	infernam
216	secum,	secum,	secum
217	sepulchro :	sepulchro :	sepulchro.

218	soror,	soror.	soror	
224	lārbas	Iarbas	lārbas	
225	Libiae duces,	Libiae duces,	Libyae duces.	
227	alit :	alit,	alit :	<i>mentem/</i> follows deleved <i>v</i> in Christ Church MS.
228	gens invicta	Gens invicta	gens invicta,	
230	premunt	premunt	fremunt	
231	furentes :	furentes	furentes :	
232	fratris	Fratris	fratris	
233	equidem,	equidem,	equidem	
	caelitum	caelitum	Caelitum	
234	Dardanas,	Dardanas,	Dardanas	
236	surgere	surgere	surgere,	
237	Punica	punica	Punica	
238	Nomen per orbem gloria attollet tuum ? (This edition and Christ Church MS).			Nomenque terris gloria attollet tuum ? (B.M. MS.)
239	nostrum	nostrum	nostrum,	
242	penates	Penates	penates	
243	impulit,	impulit,	impulit	
247	deos.	deos ?	Deos	
249	necte,	necte,	necte	
250	Desaevit	Desaevit	Daesevit	
	hiemis	hiemis	hyemis	<i>Hiemis/</i> in Christ Church MS, <i>is</i> is interlineated above deleted <i>PS</i> .
253	fraena ;	fraena ;	fraena,	
254	deos,	Deos,	Deos	
256	pariter,	pariter,	pariter	
	cadet.	cadet.	cadet	
257	feram,	feram,	feram	
258	tori	tori	thori	
259	Eheu,	Eheu,	Eheu	
	Dido,	Dido,	Dido	
260	mentes.	mentes.	mentes :	
263	medullas :	medullas :	medullas,	
266	vagatur,	vagatur.	vagatur	
267	sagitta,	sagitta.	sagitta	
271	silvas	silvas	sylvas	
274	Elisa.	Elisa.	Elisa :	
275	Sidonias	Sidonias	Sydonias	
276	novam :	novam :	novam,	
281	turres	turres,	turres	
283	recondunt ;	recondunt ;	recondunt	
284	opera,	opera,	opera	
286	superum	superum	Superum	
287	Elisam ?	Elisam.	Elisam ?	

Act 3

	Actus 3	Actus 3 ^{us}	Actus Tertius
	Scena 1. (Transeunt ad venationem.)	Scena ia. Transeunt ad venationem	1 ^o transitur ad venationem (Stage Direction in margin)
1	scissa,	scissa,	scissa
3	taedam,	taedam,	taedam
4	Elisae,	Elisae,	Elisae
8	lachrimas	lachrimas	lachrymas
9	tibi,	tibi,	tibi
10	secundos, Dido, moliris toros,	secundos, Dido, moliris toros,	secundos expetis Dido thoros
			<i>expetis/ follows deleted Did in B.M. MS.</i>
11	Libia,	Libia,	Libya
	ames,	ames,	ames
12	beata,	beata,	beata ?
13	Troico	Troico	Trōico
14	Paris.	Paris.	Paris,
18	alienam :	alienam :	alienam,
22	(Stage Direction) (Tempestas.) (Nymphae plagentes.) Nymphae canunt in scena.)	Tempestas Nymphae plagentes.	Tempestas Iunonia. Nympharum planctus. Nymphae canunt in scena (Last stage direction in margin).
23	planctus,	planctus,	planctus
24	palmis,	palmis.	palmis
27-30			/ These lines are found only in the Christ Church MS.
31	hymenaeos,	hymenaeos,	Hyminaeos
	iunctos,	iunctos,	iunctos
32	connubium,	connubium,	connubium
33	priscum,	priscum,	priscum
35	questus,	questus,	questus
36	nymphae	nymphae	Nymphae
36	dabimus,	dabimus,	dabimus
38	Echo.	Echo	Echo.

Scene heading

	Actus 3. Scena 3.	Actus 3. Scena 2a.	No scene heading	
Stage Direction				Exeat e nemore found only in B.M. MS.
39	Bene est,	Bene est	Bene est,	
41	est :	est :	est,	
42	igne, precio	igne, precio	igne : pretio	
43	Iūlum	Iūlum	Iūlum	
44	suavium,	suavium,	suavium	
46	intuli.	intuli.	intuli	
48	simplicem,	simplicem,	simplicem	
51	Genetrixque	Genetrixque	Genitrixque	
	nostra,	nostra,	nostra	
52	faedus.	faedus.	faedus :	
	nuptiis	Nuptiis	nuptiis	
	diem,	diem,	diem	
53	rotant,	rotant.	rotant,	
54	Atque	Atque	Et	
56	maior	maior	magnus	
58	Stage Direction :			caelitus dilapsus/ found only in B.M. MS.
	Iovis,	Iovis ;	Iovis	
59	nuncius	nuncius	nuntius	
	deum,	Deum,	Deum	
60	aetheris.	aetheris	aetheris.	<i>aetheris/</i> follows deleted <i>Iovis</i> in Christ Church MS.
61	zona	Zona	zona	
63	Lybia	Lybia	Libya	
64	fallor, est :	fallor, est :	fallor est,	
65	domus,	domus,	domus.	
68	nostrum munus hoc	nostrum hoc munus (marked for transposition)	munus hoc nostrum	
	putet	putet.	putet	
69	Iovis.	Iovis.	Iovis	
71	caelitum	caelitum	Caelitum	
	fungi, est,	fungi, est,	fungi est.	
73	terram,	terram,	terram	<i>placet/</i> in Christ Church MS., <i>t</i> is written over an erasure.

76	pallidi	Pallidi	pallidi	<i>Ditis</i> / in B.M. MS. follows three deleted letters which are perhaps <i>Dat</i> .
	domo,	domo,	domo	
77	alias	alias	alios	
78	fugo,	fugo,	fugo.	
80	fretus,	fretus,	fretus	
	agens	agens	agens,	
82	extulit ?	extulit.	extulit ?	
85	exstruis	exstruis	exstruis	
				<i>regnique</i> / in Christ Church MS., follows deleted <i>et</i> . <i>q</i> , the abbreviated <i>que</i> , is squashed in at the end of <i>regni</i> .
87	rector,	rector,	rector	
88	suo,	suo,	suo	
91	Lybicus	Lybicus	Libycis	
93	movet,	movet,	movet	
95	tibi,	tibi,	tibi	
97	sol.	sol.	sol	
99	Venus,	Venus ,	Venus	
100	dolis,	dolis,	dolis	
101	fore,	fore,	fore	
102	genus,	genus,	genus	
103	victor,	victor,	victor	
105	totus	totus	totus,	
106	subit ;	subit ;	subit	
108	profari poteris Aenea miser ?	profari poteris Aenea miser ?	profari, quid loqui Aeneas potes ?	
109	poteris ?	poteris ?	fas est ?	
110	rapitur,	rapitur,	rapitur	
112	deorum	deorum	Deorum	
112	imperio	imperio	imperio,	
118	freta,	freta,	freta	
120	mihi.	mihi.	mihi	
128	iudex	iudex	iudex	
133	superi	superi	Superi	
	magis.	magis	magis .	
134				<i>veniat in</i> / interlineated over deleted <i>subeat</i> in B.M. MS.
139	debeo,	debeo,	debeo	
142	exprobrat	exprobat	exprobrat	
144	datam,	datam,	datam	
145	hospitia,	hospitia,	hospitia	
	lachrimas,	lachrimas,	lachrymas	
	dexteram,	dexteram,	dexteram	

147	caput,	caput,	caput	
148	superum	superum	Superum	
148	fato	fato	fatis	
150	lachrimis	lachrimis	lachrymis	
154	et illinc	et illinc	et hinc	
155	tamen,	tamen,	tamen	
156	suo,	suo,	suo	
158	est, Achates,	est, Achates,	est Achates	
159	deorum	Deorum	Deorum	<i>deorum</i> /follows delated <i>te</i> in B.M. MS.
160	adiuves,	adiuves.	adiuves	
164	rates,	rates,	rates.	
167	suos,	suos	suos	
168	experire,	experire.	experire	
171	testor,	testor,	testor	
172	Dido	Dido	Elisa	
Stage Direction				Aeneas ad Regiam Achates ad Naves./ This stage direction is found only in the Christ Church MS.
173	malum	malum	malum ?	
174	mobilitate ?	mobilitate?	mobilitate	
175				/this line is found only in the Christ Church MS.
177	auras,	auras,	auras	
181	Caeo,	Caeo,	Caeo	
	perhibent,	perhibent,	perhibent.	
183	celerem,	celerem,	celerem	
	alis,	alis,	alis.	
184	horrendum,	horrendum,	horrendum	
185	subter,	subter,	subter	
188	pervolat,	pervolat,	pervolat	
190	tecti	tecti	tecti,	
192	urbes,	urbes,	urbes	
193	Nuncia ficti,	Nuncia ficti,	Nuntia ficti	
	nuncia	nuncia	nuntia	
196	canens :	canens :	canens.	
197	novum,	novum,	novum	
	Teucro,	Teucro,	Teucro	
199	Iungere.	Iungere.	Iungere,	
200	immemores.	immemores.	immemores	
202	Lybicas	Lybicas	Libycas	

Act 4

The Christ Church MS. is the only source for this Act and for Act 5.

	Reading of this edition	Christ Church MS	Other Comments.
6 31	facio,	facio	<i>Si / ve</i> deleted at end of this word.
57	tegere speravi	speravi tegere (marked for transposition)	
	fugam,	fugam.	<i>Phaebi/</i> follows deleted illegible word.
66			
81	auribus	auribus.	<i>me /</i> interlineated.
88	Procrustes	Procrustes	
99			
103	Maia illa	illa Maia (marked for transposition)	
107	ventis,	ventis	/This line is written in the margin and marked for insertion at this point.
136	tutum.	tutum,	
151	numina.	numina,	
160	loquar,	loquar.	
172			
195	potero.	potero,	
199	sparsi.	sparsi,	

Act 5

49	Stryges	Styges	
53	Adeste ;	Adeste,	
55	Adeste.	Adeste,	
81	patrem subiit	subiit patrem (marked for transposition)	
95	cohibe.	cohibe ?	<i>Aderitque Barce./</i> the MS. gives these words to Dido. I have given them to Barce.
101			
105	o sol	O Sol	<i>mortuam/ u</i> is interlineated.
132	gentem.	gentem,	
193			
210	invida.	invida	
212	necat.	necat,	
214	Lugubrem	Lugubrem.	

Epilogue

	Reading of this edition	Christ Church MS.	British Museum MS.	Other Comments.
1	suum,	suum,	Suum	
3	scripta, acta	scripta, acta	scriptam actam	
5	vetat.	vetat.	vetat,	
6	dolos,	dolos,	dolos	
7	bona	bona	bona,	
11	desinit :	desinit :	disinit,	
12	audiet.	audiet,	audiet	
13	docet	docet	monet	
13-15				/These lines are enclosed in quotation marks in B.M. MS.
16	deum	Deum	Deum	
18	lachrimis solent,	lachrimis solent,	lachrymis solent	
21	tenent.	tenent.	tenent	
22				/This line is found only in the Christ Church MS.
23	amoris :	amoris :	amoris	
25	videt,	videt,	tulit	
28	Dido tamen.	Dido tamen.	Elisa tamen	
29	virgo :	virgo :	virgo.	
30	opem ?	opem ?	fidem ?	
31	Sychaeo tamen,	Sychaeo tamen,	Sichaeo tamen	
33	Tamen, ecce,	Tamen, ecce,	Tamen ecce	
38	divum	divum	Divum	
39	Elysa	Elysa	Elisa	
40	Elysa	Elysa	Elisa	
	precor,	precor,	precor	
41	diu :	diu :	diu	

University of Birmingham.

M.A. Nauwelaerts

QUATRE LETTRES DE PETRUS VLADERACCUS (1570-1618)

On trouvera une notice sur l'humaniste néerlandais Petrus Vladeraccus (Peter van Vladeracken) chez les anciens biographes ¹, dans des dictionnaires biographiques modernes ² et dans quelques ouvrages du XIXe siècle ³.

Il naquit à Bois-le-Duc en 1570 ⁴, comme sixième enfant de Christophorus Vladeraccus, recteur de l'école latine du chapitre de cette ville ⁵. Il entra à la maison des Frères de la Vie Commune, le *Sint-Gregoriushuis*, à sa ville natale ⁶, et y fut mis à la tête de la section payante du pensionnat (*convict*) des Frères, comme il dit lui-même : *domus Fratrum ditiorum* ⁷. Selon toute probabilité Pierre ne fit pas d'études universitaires : les Frères étaient tous des autodidactes, et on ne connaît aucun d'entre eux qui ait bénéficié d'une formation universitaire après son entrée. Bon latiniste, formé par son père, il a donné des leçons à l'école du chapitre dès 1597 ⁸. En 1604, alors qu'il s'était déjà exercé au ministère de la prédication à Bois-le-Duc, il devint curé de Saint-Pierre à Oirschot (Brabant Septentrional) et chanoine du chapitre de cette église ⁹ ; il y était en même temps professeur de latin. Vladeraccus mourut à Oirschot, le 6 janvier 1618 ¹⁰.

L'activité littéraire de Petrus Vladeraccus date surtout du temps qu'il était chez les Frères à Bois-le-Duc. In 1598, alors qu'il était professeur de troisième, il fit représenter par ses élèves (*a docta iuventute scholastica*) le drame biblique qu'il publia chez Jan van Turnhout à Bois-le-Duc sous le titre *Tobias, sive comice conscripta, sacra veteris instrumenti Tobiae historia* ¹¹ ; c'est l'ouvrage qui l'a fait survivre. Pendant le siège de Bois-le-Duc par le Comte Maurice de Nassau, qui eut lieu à partir de novembre 1601, Vladeraccus rédigea un journal des faits de guerre qui parut en 1602, chez Jean Masius, à Louvain : *Diarium, sive brevis quaedam rerum per singulos dies in obsidione Silviducensi gestarum descriptio* ¹². Toujours à Bois-le-Duc, il écrivit et publia une description du service funèbre célébré en 1598 en mémoire de Philippe II et un *Carmen scholasticum* ¹³. Comme curé et chanoine, il composa une histoire de la Vierge miraculeuse d'Oirschot : *Diva Virgo Oorschotana ad sacrum quercum*. Le livre est resté inédit ; cependant, d'après le chanoine norbertin et futur prélat de Tongerlo, Augustin Wichmans ¹⁴, cet ouvrage avait été approuvé par Gisbert Coeverinx (+ 1613), doyen du chapitre de Bois-le-Duc ¹⁵, à la demande de l'évêque Gisbertus Masius (évêque de Bois-le-Duc de 1594 à 1614). Il nous reste encore quelques documents latins écrits par Vladeraccus ¹⁶ et une poésie latine en l'honneur de Christophe Plantin ¹⁷. Vladeraccus nous est connu comme latiniste, il cite quelques mots grecs ; était-il aussi *vir trilinguis* comme son père Christophe ? Une ancienne tradition semble le confirmer ¹⁸.

Les quatre lettres qui seront reproduites ci-après, concernent la double activité de Petrus Vladeraccus, celle du professeur et celle du chanoine-curé. La première est la lettre-préface du *Tobias*, la deuxième est la préface du *Diarium*, la troisième et la quatrième se rapportent à l'édition projetée de la *Diva Virgo Oorschotana*. Nous avons uniformisé l'orthographe des i et v et adapté la ponctuation à l'usage moderne.

1. Fr. Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae, sive Nomenclator Inferioris Germaniae Scriptorum*, Anvers, 1628, p. 638 ; Val. Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Louvain, 1643², p. 766 ; J.F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Bruxelles, 1739, II, p. 1017 ; (J.N. Paquot), *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des Dix-Sept Provinces des Pays-Bas...*, I, Louvain, 1763, éd. in-fol., p. 82-83, éd. in 8°, p. 328.
2. A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, Haarlem, 1852-1878, XI/3, p. 83 ; *Nieuw Nederlandsch biographisch woordenboek* (=NNBW), IV, Leiden, 1918, col. 1393 (W. Meindersma) ; *Biographie nationale... de Belgique*, XXVI, Bruxelles, 1936-1937, col. 808-809 (A. Roersch).
3. P. Hofmann Peerlkamp, *Liber de vita doctrina et facultate Nederlandorum qui carmina latina composuerunt*, Haarlem, 1838², p. 248 (Petrus Vladeraccus serait devenu recteur des écoles latines de Bois-le-Duc, et y aurait enseigné le latin, le grec et l'hébreu, puis Frère de la Vie Commune et enfin curé à Oirschot) ; J.A. Coppens, *Nieuwe beschrijving van het bisdom van 's Hertogenbosch*, 4 vol., Bois-le-Duc, 1840-1844, II, p. 347-348 ; L.H.C. Schutjes, *Geschiedenis van het bisdom 's Hertogenbosch*, 5 vol., St. Michielsgestel, 1870-1876, IV, p. 411, et V, p. 355 et 368. Nous omettons quelques références à des ouvrages où le nom de Petrus Vladeraccus est simplement cité.
4. Il est dit *annorum 45*, lors de la visite du chapitre de Saint-Pierre à Oirschot, le 14 juillet 1615, par l'évêque Nicolas Zoesius (ou Zoes) ; cf. A.M. Frenken, *Documenten betreffende de kapitels van Hilvarenbeek, Sint Oedenrode en Oirschot*, (Bois-le-Duc), 1956, p. 271. La plupart des biographes citent comme année de naissance 1571.
5. Nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de publier la bibliographie des oeuvres de Christophe van Vladeracken : *Het letterkundig werk van de Nederlandse humanist Christophorus Vladeraccus (1524-1601). Een bibliographische bijdrage*, dans *Folium*, 1, (Utrecht 1951), n° 1, pp. 6-11, Nous comptons éditer la correspondance de cet humaniste de Bois-le-Duc dans un proche avenir.
6. Cf. la mention dans les comptes de la ville de Bois-le-Duc en 1597/98 : R.A. van Zuijlen, *Inventaris der archieven van de stad 's Hertogenbosch*, 3 vol., Bois-le-Duc, 1863-1876, II, p. 1127. Voir aussi la fin de la lettre 1 qui suit. Sur la maison des Frères, cf. M.A. Nauwelaerts, *De Bossche Broeders van het Gemene Leven*, dans *Studia Catholica*, 18, (Nimègue 1942), pp. 228-232.
7. Cf. le document du 20 septembre 1602, mentionné à la note 16.
8. Sur la page de titre du *Diarium* on lit : *per F. Petrum Vladeraccum Iuventutis Fraternalis Rectorem, et Primariae classis Praelectorem*. Vladeraccus n'était certainement pas recteur : à la même page se trouve un chronogramme latin donnant l'année 1601, précédé de la mention : *Chronographicum Coenobiarum collegii Fratrum Gregorianorum, et Gymnasiarum Silvadicensis* ; ce titre désigne Lambert van Berchem. Cependant Foppens et Paquot, *Il. cc.*, ont prétendu que Vladeraccus était recteur de cette école, et d'autres les ont suivis.

9. Cf. Schutjes, *o.c.*, V, p. 355 et 368 ; Frenken, *o.c.*, p. 271 (en juillet 1615 : *ab annis undecim pastor in Oirschot*), p. 264 et 270.
10. Les anciens biographes se trompent en fixant la mort de Vladeraccus en 1616. La pierre tombale de Vladeraccus est conservée à Oirschot ; la pierre ayant servi auparavant de seuil, les armoiries des Vladeracken et quelques lettres ont disparu. D'après la copie fournie par Monsieur Th. W.M. Bressers – ce dont je le remercie vivement – le texte de l'inscription funéraire se lit comme suit, dans la chapelle de la Sainte Vierge : MONVMENTVM VENERABILIS DNI P(ETR)I VLADERTACCI (sic) PASTORIS HVIVS ECCLISIE (sic) QVI OBIIT 6 IANNA (sic) 1618. Cf. aussi (J.C.) Steenkamp, *Grafzerken enz. te Oirschot*, dans *De Navorscher*, 67 (1918), p. 433 ; P.C. Bloys van Treslong Prins, *Genealogische en heraldische Gedenkwaardigheden in en uit de kerken der provincie Noord-Brabant*, II, Utrecht, 1924, p. 109.
11. E.A.B.J. ten Brink, *Bossche drukken 1541-1600. Een bijdrage tot de Noordnederlandse bibliografie*, dans *Varia historica Brabantica*, II (Bois-le-Duc, 1966), pp. 94-152, mentionne cette édition sous le n° 162 (p. 149). La soi-disant édition de 1595 (*ibid.*, n° 156, p. 147-148), déjà citée par Val. Andreas, *l.c.*, n'a jamais existé.
12. Les deux publications, devenues rarissimes, se trouvent à la bibliothèque de la Société littéraire de Bois-le-Duc (Bibliotheek van het Provinciaal Genootschap). Ch. C.V. Verreyt, *De boekdrukker van Turnhout*, dans *Taxandria*, 12, (Bergen-op-Zoom 1905), cite à tort une édition du *Diarium* parue à Bois-le-Duc en 1601 ; on ne connaît que l'édition de Louvain.
13. Cf. Ten Brink, *o.c.*, n° 171 (p. 152). On n'a retrouvé aucun exemplaire du *Carmen heroicum in Natalem Domini* qui constituait la première partie de la plaquette dont la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles conserve la deuxième partie (signature C 1) : *Exequiarum Funerium D. Philippo Secundo ... braevis et extemporalis quaedam descriptio*, Bois-le-Duc, Jan van Turnhout, 1600.
14. Cf. A. Wichman, *Brabantia mariana tripartita*, Anvers, Jean Cnobbaert, 1632, pp. 420-423. Wichmans avait le manuscrit de Vladeraccus devant lui et en cita des extraits (pp. 421-423). Sur Wichmans, cf. Schutjes, *o.c.*, I, p. 258-259 ; V, p. 104 et 713.
15. On n'en trouve pas de trace dans les *Analecta Gijsberti Coeverincx*, édités par G. van den Elsen et W. Hoevenaars, Bois-le-Duc, 1905-1907.
16. Quelques documents de la main de Petrus Vladeraccus sont conservés aux Archives du diocèse de Bois-le-Duc, dans la farde *Litterae testimoniales pro ordinandis, 1575-1616* : trois documents écrits de la belle écriture italienne de Vladeraccus, comme membre de la communauté des Frères, et signés par le supérieur Lambert van Berchem, en date du 30 mars 1600, du 22 décembre 1600 et du 2 avril 1604 ; un témoignage sur la vie et les moeurs de Johannes Judoci Zeelstius, signé : *Dat. 12. Kal. Octob. anni 1602 ex domo Fratrum Ditiorum ... Fr. Vladeraccus* ; une pièce, de la main de Vladeraccus, signée, le 3 juin 1605, par Martin Roosmal(en) *p(atè)r fr(atr)um* ; les *litterae testimoniales* de Johannes Henrici Alberti fil., données par Petrus Vladeraccus *vicepastor Oirschotanus*, le 7 avril 1610, et celles de Dionysius a Breugel, par Petrus Vladeraccus *Oirschotani municipii parochus*, le 10 mars 1615.
17. Cet *Epicedium* sur la mort de Christophe Plantin doit avoir été écrit dans la seconde moitié de 1589 puisque Platin est décédé le 1er juillet 1589. Le texte de Petrus Vladeraccus se trouve intercalé entre une poésie sur le même sujet écrite par son père Christophe et celle de la main de son frère Jean ; Anvers, *Archives du Musée Plantin-Moretus*, n° 202, fol. 25^v - 26^r. D'après M. Sabbe, *De Moretussen en hun kring*, Anvers, 1928, p. 24, les vers de Pierre sont plus réussis que ceux des autres.
18. Dans un rapport sur la situation du vicariat de Bois-le-Duc en 1661, Judocus Houbraken dit à propos d'Oirschot : *Ab antiquo hic fuerunt seminaria latinae, graecae, imo et hebraicae linguae, in quibus aliquando docuit magni nominis Fladeraccus* ; Frenken, *o.c.*, p. 276, n. 26. Voir ci-dessus la note 3.

Petrus Vladeraccus aux échevins de Bois-le-Duc.

Bois-le-Duc, le 26 mars 1598.

Dédicace du drame biblique *Tobias*, adressée aux échevins de la ville.

Thème de la pièce ; adaptation possible à la situation actuelle.

Prudentissimis Iurisperitissimisque Ducissilvae Senatoribus, D. Praesidi Arnolfo Brugelio, Godefrido ab Engellant, M. Nicolao Tulden, Gisberto vander Stegen, Godofrido Vlierden, M. Iacobo Balen, M. Petro Pelgromio, M. Francisco Bardoul, M. Davidi Eversvijn, Frater Petrus Vladeraccus S. D. P. (1)

Magnus ille principum omnium et Monarcharum historiis hactenus celebrium Coryphaeus, Macedoniae Rex Alexander, cordatissimi, clarissimique Domini, rogatus a quodam cur exiguis pro meritis munus in se regale et eximium contulisset : “Ego, respondit, non quid tu merearis accipere, sed quid Alexandro conveniat dare, perpendo”. Heroïca vero vox et quae eius ambitioni, cuius cupiditati atque insolentiae angustus erat terrarum orbis, apprime quadrabat ! Ego certe non Alexander, sed Frater Petrus ; nec Magnus, sed opibus, scientia et corpore parvus ; nec Macedoniae Rex, sed omnis ordinis ac loci pueris faustis, miseris, glabris, scabris, bonis, malis, Rector et tanquam tetricus quidam Aristippus ; pro sceptro ferula, et pro diademate monastico insignitus cucullo ; munusculum, gratitudinis ergo, litterarium humanissimis illis oblaturus Dominis (qui quo erga liberalium artium cultores studio et affectu propendeant, bis suis constructo sumtibus theatri pulpito manifeste demonstrarunt), non quale Minorum respondeat amplitudini, sed qualecumque a nostra tenuitate proficisci possit, donum apparandum statui.

Cum ante triennium M. Petrus Louvvius (2), lectoratum tertiae classis suscipiens, docendi me pro parente fasce levaret, quod praeter domesticorum regimen et institutionem nihil ardui, quod agerem, haberem, nec praeter servandam concionum cum Fratribus periodum, quae septima vix hebdomade recurrit, ita cathenato tam frequenter concionandi labore gravarer, pernitiosissimum, religiosus praesertim viris, otium fugiens, mentem ad studium comicum, ad quod natura proclivior patris mei (3) iudicio censebar, appuli. Conscripseram tum actus aliquot *Tobiae* nostri, cum subito gravior non solum publicae Catecheseos moles me invadit, verumetiam propter repentinum Louvvii discessum, cogitur antiquo genitor me includere ludo (4). Principio tum negotiorum multitudine, veluti decumanis quibusdam fluctibus, procellis et tempestatibus obrutus, absolutam prope reiicio comoediam. Sed, qui meus est erga istud studium, utinam ita felix atque aestuans ardor ! Omnibus istis, tum in schola publica docendi, tum septuaginta domesticos regendi, eosdemque quotidie in Latinis et Graecis litteris, cantu Gregoriano et graphica pictura privatim instituendi, tum saepius ter uno die concionandi molestiis tantum suffuratus sum temporis ut

hanc et suis quomodocumque partibus foeturam absolverem et Dominis, modo gratum haberent, munusculi loco dedicarem. Si quis autem adeo sinistri inveniatur iudicii, qui *δωρὸν* istud *ἄδωρον* caussetur (5), et quibus offertur parum accomodatum, quod *Tobias* Senatoribus, coniugium tractans, consultationibus multum diversis implicatis obtrudatur, is mihi videat an non totius Reipublicae nostrae Ducissilviae perspicuam quandam imaginem sub historia *Tobiae*, quam in theatrum producimus, adumbratam deprehendat. Primo siquidem pudica illa Raguelis filia, Sara nimirum, quae a diversis in coniugium maritis sollicitata, uni tantum *Tobiae*, quod veri Dei Israëlitarum, Creatoris nempe caeli et terrae, cultor esset, caeteris infidelibus morte graviter mulctatis, sponsa reservatur. Quid ? an ablato schemate, non solis luce clarius exhibet, patriam hanc nostram, civitatem Silviducensem, cuius integritas a diversis saepenumero satis alioquin violenter constupraturis procis sollicitata, illis, quod asseclae verae avitaeque fidei non essent, à Deo iure punitis, uni Brabantiae Duci, cui tanquam optimo optimi parentis filio, *Tobiae* iuniori, intaminanda ipsius debetur integritas, perpetuo conservatur ? Istam enim quandam veluti coniugii necessitudinem *Tobiae* seniori, qui ardentibus horum coniugum, quantumvis ingenti locorum intervallo disiunctus, desideriis et votis incolumitatem exoptat, hoc est Regiae Maestati, sperat nequaquam displicituram. Adhaec quod eadem Sara diuturnum vicinorum et affinium improprium perpessa, in secretis aedium suarum penetralibus oratura secessit, an non solis luce manifestius nostram hanc exhibet civitatem ? Quae cum quasi sudes sit in oculis vicinorum, quibus undique cingitur, oppidorum arcanis illis et inaccessis utriusque sexus coenobitarum collegiis, iisque frequentissimis, salutem suam et incolumitatem adversus Vatinianum hostium suorum, undiquaque dicteris insultantium, odium Deo Opt. Max. commendat, ut se, tanquam gallina pullos, sub umbra alarum suarum protegat et contueatur. Iam vero nuptiarum harum paranympheus caelestis ille Raphaël, qui toties horum coniugum divina sua prudentia saluti consuluit, quid obsecro aliud quam longissime in posterum prospicientem, hunc Busciducensem Senatum liquido demonstrat ? Quam certe providus hic Raphaël, hoc adhuc anno, quo casus admodum dubii, plures quam superioribus aliquot lustris Rempublicam nostram invaserunt, occultos illos Asmodei conatus iustitiae vinculis accurate et vigilanter constrinxerit et refrenarit, manifestiora sunt vestigia, quam ut hic necesse sit commemorare.

Credo videtis iam, doctissimi Domini, haec non omnino inepte summa historiae capita Silviducensi Reipublicae quadrare. Si in reliquis *Tobiae* partibus idem, quod factu facillimum fuerit, praestemus, an tum adhuc iure criticus quispiam caussetur praeter decorum hunc ingenioli nostri foetum Iurisperitis obtrudi Senatoribus ? Quapropter si, quod facile credam, ineptulum videatur quod vobis, praestantissimi Domini, munus offeratur, genuinum et sincerum donantis animum, non adeo donum, quaeso, ponderate ; memores simplicis istius apud Persas rustici Sinerae. Qui, dum apud ipsos legibus cautum esset ne quisquam Regi foras in publicum prodeunti sine munere fieret obviuus, cum iam procul a domo sua in Regem Artaxerxem incidisset ac caeteri Persae omnes certatim dona

Regi deferrent, ille contristatus et anxius quia nihil, quod donaret, habebat, ad proximum fluvium celerrime accurrit et aquam utraque vola hausta Regi offert, suam praesentem inopiam deplorans. Artaxerxes facto delectatus, collaudato multis verbis offerentis animo, mandat spadonibus ut in auream phialam aquam de manibus rustici acciperent ; quin etiam, cum ad diversorium suum pervenisset, misit rustico stolam Persicam, phialam auream et mille Daricos pro mercede. Egregiam vero candoris animi remunerationem ! Ego quidem abunde satis praemii me retulisse existimabo, si ista vobis dedicata Comoedia, sanis vestris iustissimisque videatur iudiciis, Silviducensibus exhibenda ; sin minus, saltem ad me parentem suum bona cum gratia, ablegandus alio foetus, remittatur. Vestro igitur iudicio aut stet, aut cadat ; aut intra moenia servetur ; aut in exilium extorris eiiciatur. Id *Tobiae* mirum non accidet, cum tota, quam comice scripsimus historia, ab ipso Tobaeo in exilio Babylonico sit acta, et in hoc humanae vitae exilio a me conscripta primo comoedia. Nam iuxta mecum, imo melius, quam ego, sciunt Domini peregrinationem et continuum exilium esse hanc vitam nostram super terram. Unde pro religione et patria sua sollicitos Dominos ad veram patriam, huius vitae, quod natura nobis circumscripsit, spatio feliciter decurso, educat benignus ille fidelitatis et constantiae remunerator Deus. Valete interea viri Iuris consultissimi, vobis, familiae et patriae vestrae multis annis incolumes.

Cursim ex Domo Fratrum,
7.Kal. April.
Anno 1598.

- (1) Les neuf échevins étaient nommés le 1er octobre 1597 ; cf. Archives de la ville de Bois-le-Duc, A 12. Arnold van Bru(e)gel (ou Broegel), président du Conseil, est mentionné dans les comptes de la ville, en 1586/87, 1588/89 et 1599/1600 ; cf. R.A. van Zuijlen, *o.c.*, II, p. 1064, 1074, 1124 et 1126. Godefroid (Godfried ou Goyart) van Engellant, échevin et recteur du Grand Hôpital de Bois-le-Duc, devint prêtre en 1607 et vicaire (*beneficiarius*) de la cathédrale de Saint-Jean en 1613 ; cf. Van Zuijlen, *o.c.*, II, p. 1169 (année 1606/07) ; Schutjes, *o.c.*, IV, p. 210 et 401 ; Foppens, *o.c.*, I, p. 298. Nicolas van Tulden ou Tuldenius (+ 1609), licencié en droit de l'Université de Louvain, se fixa comme avocat dans sa ville natale de Bois-le-Duc, et y devint échevin ; il est l'auteur de quelques ouvrages de droit ; cf. Sweertius, *o.c.*, p. 583 ; V. Andreas, *o.c.*, p. 698-699 ; BNB, XXV, col. 832-833 (P. Bergmans). Gijsbert van der Stegen, né d'une famille dont plusieurs membres ont étudié à Louvain, se rencontre dans les comptes de la ville en 1588/89, 1590/91, 1592/93 et 1593/1594 ; cf. Van Zuijlen, *o.c.*, II, p. 1074, 1076, 1087, 1094 et 1099. Godefroid van Vlierden mourut le 16 janvier 1611 ; cf. C.F.X. Smits, *De grafzerken in de kathedrale Sint Janskerk van 's Hertogenbosch*. Bois-le-Duc, 1912, p. 141, n° 130. Jacques van Balen, ou Balenus, mort en 1622, est loué dans son épitaphe comme *pauperum curator imo pater* ; cf. Smits, *o.c.*, p. 156, n° 146, et p. 317-318, n° 316. Pierre Pelgroms fut immatriculé à Louvain, le 1er août 1563 ; cf. A. Schillings, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, IV, Bruxelles, 1961, p. 653, n° 15 ; il appartenait à une famille très renommée de Bois-le-Duc dont on connaît surtout l'humaniste Simon Pelgrom qui édita une *Synonymorum Sylva* en 1537 et 1546. François Bardoul était sans doute apparenté au chanoine Martin Bardoul, notaire et secrétaire des évêques François Sonnius et Laurent Metsius, et à Nicolas Bardoul qui a composé un *Elegidion* : "Liber loquitur" pour présenter le *Tobias* de Vladeraccus (*Tobias*, fol. 5^v - 6^r). David Everswijn (1559-1610) devint président du Conseil ; cf. Smits, *o.c.*, p. 21, n° 13.
- (2) Petrus Louwius (ou De Louw), ancien professeur de philosophie à Louvain, enseigna à Bois-le-Duc de 1595 à 1597 et mourut en 1599 comme recteur de l'école latine de Ruremonde ; cf. NNBW, VI, col. 965-966 ; M.A. Nauwelaerts, *Brieven van en aan Bossche humanisten en docenten, 2e reeks, III*, dans *Bossche Bijdragen*, 24 (1958), pp. 140-143.
- (3) Patris : Christophorus Vladeraccus.
- (4) Cf. Horace, *Epîtres*, 1, 1, 3 : *iterum antiquo me includere ludo*.
- (5) $\delta\omega\rho\acute{o}\nu$ $\alpha\delta\omega\rho\omicron\nu$: cf. Sophocle, *Aïax*, 665.

2.

Petrus Vladeraccus aux magistrats et citoyens de Bois-le-Duc.**Bois-le-Duc, le 5 novembre 1602.**Lettre-préface du *Diarium*. L'auteur justifie cette publication d'actualité.

S.P.Q. Silviducensi Frater Petrus Vladeraccus S.P.D.

Quemadmodum olim Philosophus ille Diogenes, ornatissimi pariter et prudentissimi Domini Civesque fortissimi, cum olim expeditionem in Corinthum apparare dicebatur Philippus Alexandri Magni pater, videretque Corinthios omnes ut suam munirent civitatem operi intentos, atque alios quidem nova moliri propugnacula, alios instaurare valla, alios etiam muros in altitudinem exstruere, etsi suam crederet Corinthiis inutilem futuram operam, cessatorem tamen agere noluit, sed dolium illud suum, quod gurgustii praebebat ipsi vicem, per vicinum urbi collem advolvere coepit et devolvere. Sic et ego, cum vos adversus hostis hanc nostram civitatem et obsidione cingentis et oppugnare machinantis insultum tam viderem promptos, tam alacres, tam impavidos, tam in vos muniendo continuos et assiduos, indolui mecum, quod ob valetudinariam prorsus valetudinem, ut qui me nondum a febris confirmorim, solus inertis instar cessatoris domi propter focum desiderem, nec vel dolium, ut habet chria proverbialis (1), inter laborantes voverem. Cum igitur meam in fodiendo operam ob virium imbecillitatem, huic ut olim laudatissimae, ita nec olim satis laudandae Reipublicae prorsus existimarem inutilem futuram, in animum induxi meum me aliquod etiam cum caeteris illis ferventissimis et laboriosissimis operariis operaepretium facturum esse, si singula, quo suis acciderunt locis et diebus in ista obsidione, litterarum monumentis consecrarem, ut non tantum ad eos, qui istorum moenium et hostium nos cingentium ambitu continebantur, sed ad exterarum etiam urbium et regionum vestrae constantiae, et erga Ducem, Religionem et Deum observantiae fama pertingeret.

Optarem quidem hanc laborum vestrorum Iliada (2) ab alio quopiam maiori verborum ornatu, delectu et splendore conscriptam iri evulgatum. Atque ego etiam hunc foetum lambendo ac relambendo polire conarer nisi, quo maturiorem, eo oportuniorem eius in praesentia crederem editionem. Qualis autem, qualis ista nostra videbitur opella, viri cordatissimi, ut a vobis in bonam partem accipiatur vehementer obsecro. Quod ubi intelligam, efficiam, faventibus superis, ut praeter carmen quoddam et brevem rei gestae descriptionem, aliam ingenioli nostri foeturam habeatis de prodigiosis globorum iactibus, quibus Deus stupendo quodam et novo beneficii genere diversos a praesentissima morte asseruit, licet hostis ridicule satis calumniaretur Pontificios nostros eos suis exorcismis adiurare, et foeminas omnes Busciducenses quasi veneficas incantare, cum longe diversa sit Paroemiographi (3) sententia : quod *non sit sapientia*,

prudencia et consilium contra Dominum, qui aedes tantum reparatu faciles, non autem mortalium irreparabile genus feriri permisit.

Valete interea viri optimi, et fortissimi.

Ex Musaeo nostro.

Ipso D. Elisabethae festo.

Source :

P. Vladeraccus, *Diarium, sive brevis quaedam rerum... descriptio*, Louvain, Jean Masius, 1602, fol. 1^v - 2^r.

*

Les comptes de la ville de Bois-le-Duc de 1601/02 donnent beaucoup de détails sur le siège ; cf. Van Zuijlen, *o.c.*, II, p. 1132-1145.

(1) *chria proverbialis* : cf. Erasme, *Adagium* 3206 : *Volvitur dolium*.

(2) *Iliada* : cf. Erasme, *Adagium* 226 : *Ilias malorum*.

(3) *Paroemiographi* : cf. Prov. 21, 30 (Vulg.).

3.

Petrus Vladeraccus à Balthasar Moretus.

Oirschot, le 7 novembre 1612.

Se recommandant de l'amitié de son père avec le père et le grand-père de Moretus, Vladeraccus voudrait lui confier le manuscrit de son ouvrage sur la Vierge d'Oirschot en vue de l'édition ; il lui demande le prix de deux missels romains, d'un antiphonaire et de deux grands bréviaires.

*

Summus familiaritatis usus arctissimaque consuetudo, quae parenti meo (1) cum patre vestro Domino Moreto (2) nec non avo materno Domino Plantino (3) (quorum pius animarum misereatur Iesus) intercessit, ansam ministravit ut cum Domino liberius per litteras agam. Vides hic libellum (4) Serenissimae suae Celsitudini dedicatum de miraculis Deiparae Virginis intercessione isthic Oirschoti exhibitus. Vides approbationem tam in fronte quam in calce adscriptam. Optarem itaque hunc foetum nostrum ad maiorem Dei eiusque matris virginis gloriam typis tuis excudendam curare non graveris. Rem mihi praestiteris longe quam gratissimam. Brevi etiam, non dubito, referendi gratias occasio praebebitur. Dederunt siquidem canonici nostri (5) mihi in mandatis ut ex Domino per litteras percunctarer, quanti constare debeant duo Romani usus Missalia alterum in asseribus et corio compactum, alterum rude et non compactum ; deinde etiam quanti constare debeat compactum in asseribus Antiphonale cum numeris sive cantu Romani usus ; deinde etiam duo Breviaria Romana maiora, quae vulgo *Liggers* (6) appellant. Pretium horum omnium dignabitur Dominus per hunc certum hominem transcribere, sed numero modoque signandi qui a Canonicis nostris posset intelligi. Pecunias prima occasione mittent, quia libros ante Adventum (tum enim, reiecto tandem usu Leodiensi (7), Romano libenter sese officio accingerent) sibi comparare conabuntur. Precor itaque certi aliquid habeamus responsi de singulis, et in quod tempus libellus hic noster imprimi poterit. Habemus adhuc alias tum nostras tum etiam parentis nostri lucubrationes, ad exercitia scholastica spectantes, quae (si aliquando videbitur) impressa facilius distrahentur. Vale cursim Oirschoto septimo Id. Novembris.

Totus ex asse, usu et possessione

Vester

Petrus Christophori

Vladeraccus, Pastor Oirschoti.

*

(Adresse) Insigni prudentia [et]
 humanitate viro [---]
 Domino Moreto A[rchity]
 pographo
 Antw[erpieae.]

(Note d'une autre main :) Petrus Chr. Vladeraccus
 15ⁿ Nov. 1612.

Source :

Anvers, Archives du Musée Plantin-Moretus, reg. 94, fol. 335.

*

Balthasar Moretus (1574-1641) fut à la tête de l'*Officina Plantiniana* de 1610 à 1641 ; cf. *Biographie Nat. de Belgique*, XV, col. 256-258 (M. Rooses).

- (1) Parenti meo : Christophorus Vladeraccus (1524-1601) ; cf. BNB, XXVI, col. 806-807 (A. Roersch).
- (2) Patre vestro : Jean Moretus (Moerentorf) (1543-1610), beau-fils de Plantin ; cf. BNB, XV, col. 252-256 (M. Rooses).
- (3) Plantino : Christophe Plantin (env. 1520-1589) ; cf. BNB, XVII, col. 740-759 (M. Rooses) ; bibliographie récente dans : A. Gerlo et E. Lauf, *Bibliographie de l'Humanisme belge*. Bruxelles, (1965), p. 199.
- (4) Libellum : l'ouvrage n'a pas été publié ; cf. supra, p. 255.
- (5) Canonici nostri : les chanoines de la collégiale de Saint-Pierre à Oirschot ; leurs noms sont cités par Schutjens, *o.c.*, V, p. 368-369.
- (6) Liggers : livres de grand format, destinés à être posés sur des pupitres (*liggen* = être couché).
- (7) usu Leodiensi : le chapitre d'Oirschot suivait toujours le rite liégeois pour la célébration des offices, mais lors de la visite de l'évêque Gisbert Masius, du 16 au 18 septembre 1608, les chanoines déclarèrent vouloir suivre le rite romain ; cf. A.M. Frenken, *o.c.*, p. 197 et 264. D'après le rapport de la visite de l'évêque Nicolas Zoesius, le 14 juillet 1615, les chanoines avaient adopté depuis peu le rite romain ; *o.c.*, p. 199 et 271.

Petrus Vladeraccus à Balthasar Moretus.**Oirschot, (avant le 1^{er} août 1614).**

Vladeraccus demande à Moretus de lui renvoyer le manuscrit de son ouvrage sur la Vierge d'Oirschot pour pouvoir y apporter quelques modifications ; il salue le frère de Balthasar.

*

Humanissime Domine Morete. Misi tibi ante annum aut paulo diutius libellum quendam de Miraculis hic Oirschoti apud sacram quercum, loco D. Virgini Matri sacro, eiusdem intercessione editis. Velim ut eundem, uti a me scriptus est, remittere (1) digneris. Sunt quaedam et addenda et mutanda accuratiusque nonnihil polienda.

Vale, meoque (si grave non sit) nomine plurimam imprecare salutem fratri tuo Germano Domino Canonico.(2)

Totus tuus ex asse, usu, et possessione

Cursim Oirschoti

Petrus Christophori

[---] Kal. Augusti.

Vladeraccus Oirschoto

a Pastoralibus.

*

(Adresse) Insigni humanitate ac
prudentia Domino Baltha-
sari Moreto Architypographo
Antw[er]piae.]

(Note d'une autre main :) D. Petrus Vladeraccus
d. 1^a Aug. 1614.

Source :

Anvers, Archives du Musée Plantin-Moretus, reg. 94, fol. 339.

- (1) remittere : sans doute le manuscrit a-t-il été renvoyé par Moretus ; on ignore comment ce manuscrit est venu entre les mains de Wichmans (cf. supra, p. 255).
- (2) fratri tuo : Melchior Moretus (1575-1634), ordonné prêtre en 1598, était en 1615 chanoine non résident du chapitre de Sainte-Ode à Oedenrode, d'après la visite épiscopale ; cf. Frenken, *o.c.*, p. 149 ; A. Gerlo et H.D.L. Vervliet, *La correspondance de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus*, Anvers, 1967, p. 43, note.

Université de Louvain (K.U.L.)

D. Schouten

DIE IDA VON LAURENS VAN SANTEN : EINLEITUNG - TEXT - KOMMENTAR.

Einleitung (*)

Als Sohn eines wohlhabenden Kaufmannes, der allerdings später sein Vermögen verlor, wurde Laurens van Santen am 1. Februar 1746 in Amsterdam geboren. Er studierte Rechtswissenschaft und griechische und römische Literatur in Amsterdam und Leiden. Er lebte viele Jahre amtlos und ernährte sich durch das Abhalten von Privatstunden und Repetitorien für Studierende, namentlich für Juristen. Am Ende seines Lebens wurde er (1796) Kurator der Leidener Universität. Er starb am 10. April 1798.

Er war einer der bekanntesten lateinischen Dichter seiner Zeit. Seine von J.H. Hoeufft herausgegebene gesammelten Gedichte umfassen ausser dem in diesem Aufsatz besprochenen Elegienzyklus *Ida* einen *Triumphus Amoris*, ein *Protrepticon ad Guilielmum V* (Statthalter Wilhelm V.), ein Lob auf das ländliche Leben (*Vitae rusticae laudes*), und viele zahlreiche Gelegenheitsgedichte.

*

Die Erstausgabe von Laurens van Santens Elegienzyklus "*Ida*" erschien 1773 mit dem Titel *Ida, Lusus poeticus* (1) - *Lugduni Batavorum apud Corn. van Hoogeveen juniorem MDCCLXXIII*. Es war nicht das erste Mal, dass der damals siebenundzwanzigjährige Van Santen lateinische Gedichte veröffentlichte. 1767 erschienen bei Van Tongerlo in Amsterdam die *Carmina Juvenilia Gerardi Hoofstij jun., Laurentii Van Santen, Henrici Zachariae Couderc & Lamberti Schepper*; in dieser Sammlung stammten dreizehn Gedichte über verschiedene Themen in elegischen Distichen von Van Santen.

Nachher erlebte die *Ida* noch drei Ausgaben. Sie wurde aufgenommen in Van Santens *Carmina Juvenilia* (2), die 1775 in Paris erschienen und, in leicht geänderter Fassung 1782 in London neu aufgelegt wurden. Die *Ida* wurde auch in J.H. Hoeuffts Gesamtausgabe der lateinischen Gedichte Van Santens aufgenommen (3). Die vorliegenden vier Ausgaben bieten keinen übereinstimmenden Text. So fehlt z.B. in der Erstausgabe das Schlussgedicht, in dem der Dichter seiner Freude über die erfolgreiche Bewerbung um *Ida* Ausdruck verleiht. In derselben Ausgabe ist dem lateinischen Text eine Paraphrase in niederländischen Alexandrinern beigegeben, die wir in den späteren Editionen nicht mehr vorfinden. Ausserdem zeigt jede neue Ausgabe im Vergleich zur vorhergehenden so viele Änderungen, dass die Vermutung einer

jeweiligen Neubearbeitung vom Dichter nahe liegt. Die tiefgreifendsten Modifizierungen finden wir in der Ausgabe von Hoeufft, der uns aber versichert, dass diese noch alle von Van Santen selbst stammen : *Ecquis enim tantum sibi sumat, ut Apellis tabulae penicillum audeat admoveere.* (4)

Von der zweiten Ausgabe an umfasst der Zyklus fünf Elegien von 28, 42, 34, 92 und 36 Versen, die alle das Lob des Mädchens Ida singen. Der wirkliche Name der Ida war nach der Mitteilung Hoeuffts (5) Anna Brender à Brandis, wohl gleichzusetzen mit Anna Brender à Brandis (1748-1819), Tochter von Christoffel Christiaan Brender à Brandis, Amtmann ("baljuw") von Rijnland (6). Sie muss Van Santen schon bald nach seiner Ankunft in Leiden (7) aufgefallen sein, denn dem Brief Wassenberghs vom 1. Februar 1768 an Van Santen (8) lässt sich entnehmen, dass die erste Elegie um die Jahreswende 1767-1768 entstanden ist. Aus diesem Brief erfahren wir weiter dass Van Santen das Gedicht anonym herausgab und so tat als ob Luzac der Verfasser wäre (9), was Wassenbergh jedoch nicht glaubt : *Gij zijt de man die die elegie gemaakt heeft, anders geen mensch, van Santen, lieg er niet om, alles overtuigd er mij van en aller meest het vers zelve, en dat gij het voor werk van Luzac wilt doen doorgaan, meenje mij dat wijs te maken, neen ! vriend des Keysers, Luz. is er op het hondertste deel niet capabel toe. Dat sult gij zelve seggen, als gij seggen wilt wat gij waarlijk gelooft* (10).

Die zweite Elegie ist wahrscheinlich ein Jahr später anzusetzen, denn am 9. Juni 1769 schreibt Wassenbergh an Van Santen (11) : *De Ida secunda behaagt mij niet minder als de voorgaande ; in waarheid ik ben er van verrukt geweest ; dat gij nooit op de parnas geweest zijt is een groote leugen en zo iemand anders als gij selvs het zeij, zou ik in staat zijn om hem met mijn Iamben te dwingen zig te verhangen, zo als men van dien ouden snaak zegt, ge weet wel* (12). Kurz darauf folgt die dritte Elegie, denn in einem Brief an Van Santen vom 3. März 1770 (13) fragt Wassenbergh nicht ohne Ungeduld *of wij de letter V van de Ida haast te verwagten hebben* (14). Die Ueberschrift *Post longa diludia ad Musas reversus*, die der dritten Elegie in der Erstausgabe vorangestellt ist, kann demnach nicht als genaue Zeitbestimmung aufgefasst werden ; eher bezeichnet sie eine Wende von Trübseligkeit und Verzweiflung zu neuen Hoffnungen.

Die vierte Elegie ist in ihrer endgültigen Fassung erst Ende 1773 fertiggestellt worden, denn der von Van Santen am 26. September 1773 an Hermann Tollius gesandte Text (15) weicht an mehreren Stellen von der gedruckten Version ab : u.a. fehlen die Verse 19 bis 22. Es ist sogar anzunehmen, dass die Elegien 1, 2, 3 schon vorher gedruckt wurden, und die vierte Elegie erst später. Die "Koninklijke Bibliotheek" in Den Haag besitzt nämlich ein Exemplar der Edition des Jahres 1773, in dem nur die Elegien 1, 2, 3 vorhanden sind ; an der Broschierung eines anderen Exemplars aus dieser Bibliothek ist deutlich zu erkennen, dass man erst die Elegien 1, 2, 3 abgedruckt hat, und dass die vierte später hinzugefügt wurde. Der Name des Verfassers wird in dieser Edition noch nicht erwähnt : Van Santen hat es offensichtlich vorgezogen, als Dichter dieser Elegien noch anonym zu bleiben.

Die Entstehungszeit der fünften Elegie lässt sich nicht genau bestimmen : wahrscheinlich liegt sie zwischen 1773 und 1775. Der im Gedicht suggerierte gute Ausgang des Werbens um Ida deckt sich übrigens durchaus nicht mit der Wirklichkeit. Zu einer Heirat zwischen Ida/Anna und Laurens van Santen ist es nie gekommen. Hauptgrund war der Gegensatz zwischen der gehobenen gesellschaftlichen Stellung der Familie Brender à Brandis und den ziemlich dürftigen Verhältnissen, in denen Van Santen damals lebte : er arbeitete ab etwa 1770 als Repetitor der Jurastudenten an der Leidener Universität und hatte dabei seinen Vater zu ernähren, der nahezu sein ganzes Vermögen verloren hatte. Mehrere Versuche, eine angemessene berufliche Stellung zu bekommen, blieben erfolglos. So erwarb er sich 1771 vergeblich um die Nachfolge Siebens als Professor der Rechtswissenschaft am Amsterdamer Atheneum : das Kuratorium bevorzugte Hendrik Cras. Im Jahre 1777, als sein Lehrer Pieter Burman (Petrus Burmannus Secundus) starb, bot sich Van Santen erneut Aussicht auf eine Professur. Doch auch diesmal gingen seine Hoffnungen nicht in Erfüllung : der Lehrstuhl wurde an Herman Tollius vergeben (16). Unter diesen Umständen kam eine Ehe nicht in Betracht, und schliesslich heiratete Ida/Anna im Jahre 1781 Alexander Lodewijk Brender à Brandis, Major von Sas van Gent. Van Santen heiratete Ende 1791 oder Anfang 1792 Catharina Bosch (17).

Ein gewisser innerer Zusammenhang ist der *Ida* nicht abzusprechen. Das erste und das zweite Gedicht haben einen melancholischen Tenor : die Geliebte ist weit (*Ida* 1), die Geliebte will nichts von ihrem Liebhaber wissen (*Ida* 2). Die dritte und vierte Elegie eröffnen Aussicht auf eine bessere Zukunft, die im letzten Gedicht des Zyklus greifbar wird. Eine abgerundete Liebesgeschichte bietet die *Ida* jedoch nicht. So erfahren wir z.B. nicht, wie der Dichter Ida kennen gelernt : die erste Elegie führt uns gleich *in medias res*. Man kann sich sogar fragen, ob Van Santen anfangs überhaupt einen zusammenhängenden Elegienzyklus schreiben wollte : das erste Gedicht bildet ja keinen richtigen Anfang und die fünfte, abschliessende Elegie wurde erst später hinzugefügt.

In der *Ida* finden sich - man würde es auch kaum anders erwarten - mehrere Topoi der Liebespoesie, wie sie sich in der Tradition entwickelt haben. Als solche sind u.a. anzusehen : das spröde Verhalten der Geliebten ; das Vorhaben des Dichters, in der Fremde seinen Liebesschmerz zu vergessen zu suchen ; sein Bestreben, die Geliebte durch seine Elegien unsterblich zu machen ; daneben auch der Todesgedanke und die Geringschätzung von Reichtum und Ehre.

Man kann sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass der Dichter mehr an die römischen Elegiker als an die Neulateiner anknüpft : Properz und besonders Ovid ahmt er öfters nahezu wörtlich nach. Andererseits ist er nicht restlos von renaissanzistischen Einflüssen unberührt geblieben. Ausser ihren körperlichen Reizen lässt Van Santen auch die moralischen Vorzüge seiner Ida hervortreten : letztere muten in seiner Darstellung einigermaßen aufklärerisch an (18). Auch werden die Kriegserfolge des russischen Generals Riumiantzov-Zaidunarski gegen die Türken erwähnt, und vielleicht kann man die Verse *At vos corda sophi...* (*Ida* 5,31 ff.) verbinden mit dem im 18. Jahrhundert regen Interesse für das Wesen

des Glücks. Im übrigen steht die *Ida*, unberührt von zeitgenössischen Einflüssen, völlig in der alten Tradition.

Fragen wir nach dem literarischen Wert von Van Santens Elegien, so muss die Antwort lauten, dass uns die *Ida* bestimmt keine hohe Poesie bietet, auch weniger lebhaft und variiert ist als z.B. die *Galatea* von Adriaan Reland, dass sie aber auch manchen positiven Zug aufweist, wie etwa Einfachkeit und Klarheit in Stil und Darstellung, einen gewissen guten Geschmack und eine weitgehende Beherrschung der lateinischen Sprache und Versifikation. Hoeufft, im übrigen Van Santen gegenüber einigermassen zu Panegyrik geneigt, ist mit folgendem, von Hofman Peerlkamp unterschriebenem Urteil über die *Ida* gewiss nicht weit von der Wahrheit entfernt: *Sive enim ad dictionem spectes, et os illud rotundum, de quo Horatius, quanta concinnitas, qualis verborum delectus, quae suavitas, quam artificiosa numerorum compositio* (19).

Im letzten Absatz dieser Einleitung soll noch Einiges zu Van Santens Latein bemerkt werden. Es ist, von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen (20), durchaus korrekt, hält sich strikt an die traditionelle lateinische Dichtersprache, besonders an die der Elegiker, und bietet kaum etwas Auffälliges. Neubildungen und seltene Wörter gibt es bei ihm recht wenig, z.B., *sussibilare* (4,57). Schon hingewiesen wurde auf den starken Einfluss von Ovid und Properz - der letztere hat übrigens nur auf die äussere Form der Poesie Van Santens gewirkt, nicht auf den Geist. Andere römische Dichter haben nur wenige (wie Tibull) oder gar keine Spuren (wie Horaz und Catull) in Van Santens Werk hinterlassen.

Anmerkungen

- * Ich danke Frl. Drs G. Becker zu Köln und Herrn Dr P. Buynsters zu Nijmegen herzlich für die freundliche Hilfe, die sie mir geleistet haben.
- (1) Die Bezeichnung *Lusus Poeticus* für eine Sammlung lateinischer Liebeselegien ist keine Erfindung Van Santens. Sie kommt, wenn wir nur die niederländischen Neulateiner des 18. Jahrhunderts berücksichtigen, ebenfalls vor bei der *Galatea* Adriaan Relands (1701) und der *Gellia* Gerrit Jordens (1763). Das Wort *lusus* schliesst sich der schon den römischen Elegikern vertrauten Idee an, dass die Liebespoesie im Vergleich mit z.B. der Epik etwas Unbedeutendes sei, das man nicht zu ernst nehmen sollte (vgl. u.a. Properz II 1, II 10).
- (2) *L. Santenii Batavi Carmina Juvenilia, Lutetiae Paris. e typographia F.A. Didot 1775. L. Santenii Carmina Juvenilia* ed. tertia, Londini apud Elmsley Strand 1782.
- (3) *L. Santenii Poemata edidit et nonnulla de auctore praefatus est J.H. Hoeufft*, Lugduni Batavorum apud J. van Thoir MDCCCI.
- (4) *L. Santenii Poemata* ed. Hoeufft S. LXII.
- (5) Hoeufft S XX. Ein Brief Everwinus Wassenberghs vom 1. Februar 1768 teilt uns noch mit, dass Van Santen mit dem Gedanken gespielt hat, seine Geliebte Acca zu nennen, dass er sich aber auf Rat Wassenberghs endgültig für den Namen *Ida* entschieden habe. Johan van der Does senior (Janus Dousa 1545-1604) besang in seinen Elegien auch eine *Ida*; eine eventuelle Abhängigkeit lässt sich allerdings nicht nachweisen.

- (6) Rijnland lag im nordwestlichen Teil der heutigen Provinz Zuidholland.
- (7) Am 4. April 1767 wurde Van Santen in Leiden immatrikuliert.
- (8) Dieser Brief befindet sich unter Signatur BPL 244 in der Handschriftensammlung der Leidener Universitätsbibliothek.
- (9) Gemeint ist hier wohl Johan Luzac (1746-1807), z.Z. Anwalt in Den Haag, später Professor in Griechisch und niederländischer Geschichte in Leiden.
- (10) "Du bist derjenige, der die Elegie geschrieben hast, sonst keiner, Van Santen, lüge mich nicht an, alles überzeugt mich davon, und am meisten das Gedicht selbst ; und dass du es für ein Werk Luzacs ausgibst, willst du mir das weismachen, nein ! Freund des Kaisers, Luzac ist dazu bei weitem nicht imstande. Das würdest du selbst auch sagen, wenn du sagen wolltest, was du wirklich meinst".
- (11) Brief in der Handschriftensammlung der Leidener Universitätsbibliothek, BPL 244.
- (12) *Die Ida secunda gefällt mir nicht weniger als der erste : ich war ehrlich entzückt ; dass du niemals auf dem Parnass gewesen sein sollst, ist eine grosse Lüge, und wenn ein anderer als du so etwas behauptete, würde ich imstande sein, ihn mit meinen Jamben zu zwingen, sich zu erhängen, ganz so wie man von diesem alten Kauz sagt, du weisst schon.*
Mit dem alten Kauz ist Lykambes gemeint, der dem Jambendichter Archilochos seine Tochter versprochen hatte. Als er sie ihm dann schliesslich doch nicht geben wollte, überschüttete ihn der Dichter mit so bissigen Schimpfgedichten, dass er - so die Ueberlieferung- mit seiner Tochter Selbstmord verübte.
- (13) Vgl. Anm. 10.
- (14) *ob der Buchstabe V der Ida nun endlich komme.* Mit V ist hier wohl "vier" gemeint.
- (15) In der schon mehrmals erwähnten Leidener Handschriftensammlung unter Sign. BPL 2582.
- (16) Vgl. Hoeufft, S.XX ff.
- (17) Der Tag des Aufgebots war der 22. Dezember 1791.
- (18) Vgl. Kommentar zu *Ida* 3, 17-26.
- (19) Hoeufft, S.XLI. Hofmann Peerlkamp - was man sonst auch von ihm halten mag, ein ausgezeichnete Kenner der lateinischen Poesie - fügt hinzu : *Haec Hoeufftius. Et vere. Ida lusus ingenii juvenilis, digna comes est Galatae Relandi et Gelliae Jordensii* (P. Hofmann Peerlkamp, *Liber de vita, doctrina et facultate Nederlandorum qui carmina latina composuerunt*, Haarlem 1837², S.534).
- (20) Vgl. z.B. Kommentar zu *Ida* 4, 50.

Text

Die im Folgenden wiedergegebene Textfassung ist die der Ausgabe von Hoeufft, 1801. Im Verzeichnis der Varianten bezeichnet A die Ausgabe von 1773, B die Ausgabe von 1775, C die Ausgabe von 1782 und a die nur in Manuskript (Leiden, Univ. Bibl., BPL 2582) vorliegende Erstfassung der vierten Elegie.

I

- Infortunato miserum solamen amori,
 Annule, quem articulis gessit Amica suis,
 Quem solum cara de se mihi dura reliquit,
 Secum unum quem non abstulit Ida mihi ;
 5 Dulcior Ida suo sexu, ingeniosior Ida,
 Vel Paphia vultu non minor Ida Dea ;
 Ida, suo facilis quae si spiraret amanti,
 Redderet et Musae mollia fata meae,
 Te gemmis, te fama tuo diuturnior auro
 10 Efferret nostris, annule, carminibus ;
 Blanditias quoties, quoties mea basia sentis,
 Et lacrimas quoties combibis orbe meas !
 Ten' digiti tetigere ! parens quis roscida fuscii
 Memnonis Eoos cogere vellet equos.
 15 Forsan et humidulis te presserit illa labellis,
 Quae colit, a gemina cincta sorore, Charis.
 O vel Hydaspeis mihi carior, annule, gemmis,
 Et, quascunque tenet caerula Doris opes !
 Cui mihi dum cupidos intendere detur ocellos,
 20 Non morer, ut periit Laodamia, mori.
 Quod mea non sicco si fata reponeret Ida
 Lumine, quid cessas rumpere, Parca, colum ?
 At tu me totam comitaberis, annule, vitam.
 Affixus digito tu morientis eris.
 25 Tunc, ego cum tantos impar perferre dolores
 Ante diem furvos mittar ad umbra lacus,
 Cum dominae poterit necdum immemor esse severae
 Lingua, sed Ida, tuo in nomine deficiet.

-
2. articulis. AB : digitis
 6. Vel Paphiae..Ida Dea. ABC : Ore vel Idalia non minor Ida Dea
 13-14 parens quis..equos. ABC : parens quis Memnonis axem / Et rosea Eoos cogere vellet equos
 15. presserit. ABC : admoverit
 24. Affixus...eris. ABC : Et digito affixus tu morientis eris
 26. furvos. AB : infernos
 27. necdum. A : nondum.

II

- Ergo ego perpetuum fallaci vinctus amori
 Conquerar aetatis aspera fata meae ?
 Ergo ego vernantem temerarius usque juventam
 Ingratae perdam ludibrium dominae ?
 5 Surdior, Ida, freto stridenti, immitior Ida,
 Mobilis aequoreis Ida minus scopulis !
 Non te blanditiae, non te lamenta movere,
 Non fusae, amplector dum tua crura, preces,
 Non sola te dote tui sat ditia vota,
 10 Ducta nec in laudes carmina saepe tuas,
 Non anni potuere novem, non mille labores,
 Non toties longae spreta pericla viae,
 Inve tuam faciem vigilatae tempora noctis,
 Aut studiis periens hora diurna meis.
 15 Unum erit auxilium ; nostri tibi taedia tollam ;
 Sic animis potero, saeva, placere tuis.
 Scilicet extremas procul hinc fugiemus in oras,
 Ut toto a facie divider orbe tua ;
 Ut laribus tuis longe patriaque remoto
 20 Spes quoque visendae sit mihi demta tui,
 Seu trucibus colitur qua levis America Mauris,
 Seu Guinea feras qua fera nutrit humus ;
 Qua desideris et lenta tabe perempto
 Contingent ipso fata gemenda loco ;
 25 Qua non ulla, choros buxo ducente supremos,
 Plorabit moestis naenia funeribus ;
 Nec, licet ante diem raptum, comitare parenti
 Ad structos dabitur corpus inane rogos ;
 Nec misero in partem veniet cum patre doloris,
 30 Quae ferat in cineres debita dona, soror ;
 Quaque anima haud labris erit excipienda propinquis,
 Lumina cognatas nec subitura manus ;
 Qua, licet ipsa meo sis denique mota dolore,
 Non facies lacrimas combibet, Ida, tuas ;
 35 Oscula nec gelido pones morientis in ore,

3. temerarius. AB : stultissimus

6. Mobilis....scopulis. AB : O minus Idalio mobilis Ida jugo

9-10. non sola./...semper tuas. ABC : Non casto contenta toro te flectere vota/Non ducta in laudes carmina saepe tuas

21. levis. AB : imberbis.

35. pones. A : carpes

Nec sparges caras in mea busta comas ;
 Sed, de vexato superet quae corpore, partem,
 Condet in invisio barbara terra sinu ;
 Umbraque Gaetulas errabit mixta per umbras,
 40 Hospita per manes umbra Batava feros.
 Ida, tui fastus sero te tum, Ida, pigebit ;
 Duritiae eventum disce, superba, tuae.

III

Quae rapit in numeros nova vis ? Quis me Deus urguet
 Tendere sepositae fila soluta lyrae ?
 Fallor, an innocuum non aversata Poetam
 Cor movet afflatu Calliopea suo ?
 5 Si modo nec quenquam petulanti laesimus ore,
 Si modo mens turpi crimine nostra vacat.
 Numine Musaeo an numen manifestius Ida
 Attonitum in laudes me iubet ire suas ?
 Certe praeteritos didicit iam ponere fastus,
 10 Nec potis est lacrimas lenta videre meas.
 Certe formosa est, Veneris nec ab ore puella,
 Iudice me, domina sit prior ulla mea.
 Sed mihi constantis nec forma est causa furoris,
 Non oculi, aut tenues, myrtea fila, comae,
 15 Quaeve precor stringant olim mihi brachia collum.
 Est aliud, de quo tantus amator ego :
 Et decor, et faciles componens gratia mores,
 Atque animi dulcis, mixta pudore, quies ;
 Ingeniumque, artesque, et blandis fusa labellis
 20 Suavior Hyblaei melle loquela favi ;
 Naturaeque tuae bona tot, tot pectoris, Ida,
 Ingenusque notans ora modesta color ;
 In tenero spirat mitis clementia vultu,
 Spirat nobilibus mens generosa notis ;
 25 Pingere Virtutem si quis velit aethere lapsam,
 Exemplum tabulis hinc petat ille suis.
 Tu modo te nostris da, praestantissima, flammis,
 Materiam et numeris suffice blanda meis.
 Tunc venia, Relande, tua veniaque Secundi,
 30 Et mea me nomen vate puella feret.

39. Gaetulas. AB : Nigritias // te tum. AB : tum te.

28. suffice. AB : subijce

Tunc, memori clarum titulo testante triumphum,
 Pendebit Cyprio grata tabella tholo :
 "Quae tibi de victa posui Laurentius Ida,
 "Accipias placida munera fronte, Venus !

IV

Ecquid, ut aspecta est gemmae sculptura fidelis,
 Littera, novisti, missa sit unde tibi ?
 Nomina num ceris nisi legeris, Ida, solutis,
 Santenia ignores verba notata manu ?
 5 Me tenet umbroso Raaphorstia villa recessu,
 Leida, tibi, an proprior turribus, Haga, tuis ?
 Proxima surgit ubi Burmanno sylva poetae,
 Qualiter intonso Castalis umbra deo.
 Hic optata mihi dexter facere otia Bassus
 10 Hospitio indulsit rustica tecta meo ;
 Notus amicitia parvo mihi tempore Bassus,
 Aequus at antiquis Bassus amicitiiis.
 Hic utinam riguos mecum spatiata per hortos
 Haereres lateri, cara puella, meo !
 15 Hic dare purpureis liceat properata labellis,
 Hic per jucundas oscula ducta moras !
 Hic oculos animumque tua saturare figura,
 Pendenti effusa per tua colla manu !
 Captare et roseo qui spiritus effluit ore,
 20 Mulcentem afflatu languida corde suo ;
 Nocturnos ut prata bibunt sitientia rores,
 Vel Zephyri aridulas ut foveat aura rosas.
 Hic lectum dabit herba, duobus amantibus una,
 Unaque compositos integet umbra duos ;

32. grata. AB : parva.

1. Ecquid...fidelis. a : Ecquid ab indicio gemmae memor Ida fidelis.

3. Nomina.. solutis. a : An nisi conspiceres, rupta mea nomina cera.

6. Leida...tuis. ABa : An Leidae an proprior turribus Haga tuis.

7. Proxima...poetae. ABa ; Burmanno assurgit qua proxima sylva poetae.

11. Notus...Bassus. a : Bassus amicitiae haud longo mihi cognitus usu.

12. Aequus..amicitiis. a : Bassus at antiquis aequus amicitiiis.

13. Hic utinam riguos. ABa : O utinam hic riguos.

15. Hic...labellis. a : Hic liceat roseis dare nunc properata labellis.

17. Hic oculos. a : nunc oculos.

19-22. Captare...aura rosas. desunt in a.

23. Hic lectum dabit herba.a : Lectulus hic erit herba.

- 25 Quale sub arboribus gramenque & pressit Adonin
 Cypria, sideream posthabuitque domum.
 Mollibus ipsa leges digitis hic mollia fraga,
 Pomaque, Thisbea nunc quoque pulla nece.
 Dulcis & in plenis cumulabitur uva canistris,
 30 Quaeque tuis certent mala rubore genis.
 Quam tecum vellem hic omnes inglorius annos
 Exigere, inque tuo deficere, Ida, sinu !
 Hic sacra interdum castis sequar orgia Musis !
 Sacra quidem Musis, sed mage sacra tibi.
 35 Non tantum ingenio, quantum servimus amori ;
 Hinc vitae, hinc numeris laus eat una meis !
 Nulla sit averso mihi fama Cupidine, nulla
 Gloria, si gremio non cubat Ida meo.
 Annuat, et votis adsit Cytherea modestis,
 40 Quaeque praeest sancto pronuba diva toro !
 Sed quid ego heu ! falsa deludor imagine sensus ?
 Quid precor aversos irrita vota deos ?
 Non ea Fortunae est in me clementia, vitae
 Una serena meae possit ut ire dies.
 45 Dum tamen externo longinqua moraris in orbe,
 Nec cohibet patrio te tua Leida lare ;
 Te colit absentem, te mens mea cogitat unam,
 Et tua nil praeter nomina lingua sonat.
 Invenit haec oriens me sol mediusque canentem,
 50 Nec vespertino deserit aura gelu.
 Vos Zudviciacae testes estote Napaeae,
 Et Santhorstiaco Nai vagata solo.
 Dicite vos, totos saepe Ida vocata per agros
 Ut responsuris obstrepat arboribus.

-
- 25-26. Quale. j. domum. ABa : Quale sub arboribus gramenque & Adonida Cypris / Pressit in inculta dum requievit humo
 28. Pomaque. ABCa : moraque // Thisbea...nece. a : quae duri signa parentis habent. In ABCa 28 et 30 permutantur // cumulabitur ABCa : servabitur
 31. Quam...annos. a : O utinam hic liceat tecum omne inglorius aevum
 33. Hic...Musis. a : Et sacra interdum castis facere orgia Musis
 37. averso. a : adverso
 38. cubat. a : cubet
 40. sancto toro. AB : sanctis toris. a : castis toris
 41. Sed...sensus ? a : Heu ! qua deceptos ego ludor imagine sensus ?
 42. precor. a : posco
 44. Una...dies. A : ut queat ulla dies ire serenae meae. a : Pars ulla ut felix et sine nube fluat.
 53. vos. a : quam
 54. ut responsuris obstrepat arboribus. ABCa : Ad responsuras venerit aurículas

- 55 Idam iterant colles, laetataque collibus Echo,
 Echo iucundum prompta referre sonum ;
 Sylva Idam levibus sussibilat ipsa susurris,
 Idam iterat raucae murmure Rhenus aquae.
 Saepe ad finitimam, mea Vita, excurrimus urbem,
 60 Ut desiderium leniat illa tui ;
 Vana sed urbs aegro solatia praestat amori,
 Det veniam verbis Leida venusta meis !
 Nam, blandis licet intersim conviva puellis,
 Una oculis astas Ida remota meis.
 65 Tu celer in nostros tu labere, vita, lacertos,
 Et mihi redde oculos, numina nostra, tuos ;
 Qui si non essent, iam nunc mea morte natarent
 Lumina, iam furvas isset ad umbra domos.
 Curarum tu sola quies, tu dulce dolorum
 70 Lenimen, cuncti tu medicina mali.
 Oppresso aerumnis una es tu nata voluptas,
 Una vel innumerae tu mihi divitiae.
 Paupertate tuis, mea lux, non laedar in ulnis,
 Sortis ego hic tristes non querar, Ida vices.
 75 Quid tamen aeternum socialia foedera differs ?
 Quid laceras lentis pectora fida moris ?
 Quid credas ? num te potioribus, Ida, reserves ?
 Num taeda inferior censear ipse tua ?
 Si nisi qui peritis poterit te dignus haberi,
 80 Nullus erit nuptae vir tibi, nullus erit.
 Quod non egredior structis de marmore tectis,
 Nec domus antiquos quod mea jactat avos,
 Nec caelata meis rapiuntur ab esseda bigis,
 Villa nec immensi quod pretiosa soli est ;
 85 Sed nulli cessurus amor, sed amica pudori

-
55. laetataque collibus Echo. Aa : & collibus incola Nymphæ
 56. Echo. Aa : Nymphæ
 59. finitimam. ABa : vicinam
 61. Vana. ABCa : nulla
 63. blandis..puellis. a : dulces puellas
 64. una. ABa : usque
 65. tu labere vita. a : dilecta recurre
 68. furvas. a : Stygias
 74. Sortis ego hic. ABa : Fortunae hic
 76. lentis moris.a : lenta mora
 77. potioribus. a : melioribus
 78. Num taeda. a : Et taeda
 79. Si nisi. a : Ah ! nisi
 80. nuptae vir tibi. a : conjux, si tibi
 81. structis tectis. ABa : facto tecto.

Pectora, sed sociis carmina cara meis.
 Non tamen ut verear, ne mutes, Ida, calores,
 Aut non perspecta sis mihi nota fide ;
 I vel ad Hesperios, vel Eoos visere ad Indos,
 90 Servabit custos te mihi semper Amor.
 Sed, precor, hunc praesens animum erectura iacentem,
 Mi reditu vitam redde benigna tuo !

Dat.III.Kal.Septemb.1773
 ex Raaphorstiano

V

Dicite io Paeon ! Socii ; bis dicite, amantis
 Ambiat ornatas myrtus odora comas.
 Vicimus ! et placita tandem potiemur amica,
 Ida nec aeternae virginitatis erit.
 5 Ida mea est, non illa fidem ruptura iugalem,
 Et mea, dum vivet, (rumpere Livor !) erit.
 Delenita meis illam Venus aurea curis
 Flexit, & in thalamos detulit ipsa meos.
 Tunc sub tecta maris gemmas mihi misit Eoi,
 10 Quodque legit fulvis Indus uterque iugis.
 Nec mihi maluerim, lunato plurima Turcae
 Rapta Romanzovia, clara tropaea, manu.
 Nunc mihi, nunc blando procedent lumine soles,
 Nunc erit arbitrio vivere posse meo.
 15 Una dies omnes poterit pensare dolores,
 Quos ducta ambiguo vita in amore dedit.
 Me iuvat et studiis Venerem sociare severis,
 Otiaque in dominae carpere docta sinu.
 Iam nunc Ausoniis, Graiisque ante omnia, Musis
 20 Sacra feram ; o longos da mihi, Parca, dies !
 Iam Romanarum evolvam exemplaria legum,
 Volvam ego Thesei scita diserta fori.
 Imperiique meis quae forma tuenda Batavis
 Inquiram, & populos quae bene iura ligent.

91. hunc. a : nunc/erectura. a : solare

92. Mi. a : Et

V. *deest in A*

8. detulit. B : attulit

9. Tunc...Eoi. B : Tunc mihi sub tectum gemmarum flumina misit

16. ducta. B : trita

- 25 Me iuvat in doctae gremio cecinisse puellae ;
 Oscula cum numeris misceat Illa meis.
 Quin mea venturo credam placitura nepoti
 Carmina, si placeant auribus, Ida, tuis.
 Hic mihi vivendi superet modus, hic mihi finis,
 30 Hinc cineri veniat gloria sera meo.
 At vos corda, sophi, studio cruciatis inani,
 Qui summum tanta quaeritis arte bonum.
 Quaeritis an virtus, an praeponenda voluptas,
 Et felix qua sit vita petenda via.
 35 Unica felicitas per amorem semita vitae est ;
 O fieri qui vult cunque beatus, amet !

25. doctae. BC : carae

26. Oscula...meis. B : Misceat haec numeris oscula saepe meis

34. felix qua sit. BC : qua sit felix // *Post 34 sequitur in BC hoc distichon: Solus amans
 novi quaesitaque commoda solus / Possidet ; huic cuncta est una puella bona.*

36. amet. B : ama.

Kommentar

I

Die erste Elegie ist an einen Ring gerichtet, den die Geliebte dem Dichter zurückgelassen hat. Dieses Motiv ist keineswegs neu : der Renaissancedichter findet öfters in Ringen, Armbändern, Halsketten und sonstigen Kleinodien Anlass sich lyrisch auszudrücken. Georgius Anselmus (Parma, um 1470) und Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655) lassen sich sogar von einem goldenen Zahnstocher zu Poesie anregen (21). Johann Lauterbach (1551-1593) fühlt sich durch die Kette, die er erhält, an die Geberin gebunden (22) ; auch Julius Caesar Scaliger fasst einen ihm geschenkten Ring als Fessel auf, und in den Ringen seiner Thaumantia symbolisiert sich seines Erachtens ihr grimmiges Wesen (23).

Eines der ältesten Beispiele für diese Thematik ist die Elegie *Ad annulum quo donatus fuerat ab Amica* von Titus Strozza (1425-1505) (24). Sie hat mit der Elegie von Van Santen einiges gemeinsam : bei beiden Dichtern dankt der Ring seine Vorzüglichkeit der Tatsache, dass er die Hand des geliebten Mädchens geschmückt hat (*Ad annulum* 5 - 6 und *Ida* 1,13-14) ; das Versprechen, den Ring für immer zu tragen, finden wir ebenfalls in beiden Gedichten (*Ad annulum* 9 und *Ida* 1,23-24). Weitere Uebereinstimmungen in der Formulierung gibt es jedoch nicht ; dazu kommt noch, dass Strozzas Gedicht frei ist von Liebesqual und Todesgedanken. Von daher ist es unwahrscheinlich, dass das Gedicht unmittelbar auf Van Santen gewirkt hat.

Bei Ovid *Amores* II 15 steht ebenfalls ein Ring zentral, aber auch dieses Gedicht kann nicht als Vorbild Van Santens angesehen werden. Bei Ovid ist der Ring ein Geschenk für die Geliebte ; bei Van Santen ist der Dichter selbst der Beschenkte. Weiter finden wir bei Van Santen nichts von dem wieder, was für Ovid die Hauptsache ist, nämlich, dass der Dichter selbst der Ring sein will um näher an die Geliebte heranzukommen (vgl. *Amores* II 15,9ff). Auch im Ton sind beide Gedichte grundverschieden : Van Santen ist todernst, Ovid spielerisch. Nur formell haben die beiden Elegien einiges gemeinsam : bei Ovid und bei Van Santen wird von der Berührung des Ringes durch die Geliebte gesprochen (*Amores* II 15,7 und *Ida* 1,13), bei Beiden wird der Ring gleichermassen mit

(21) *Georgi Anselmi Nepotis Epigrammaton libri septem*, Parma 1526, nicht paginierte Ausgabe ; das betreffende Gedicht heisst *Ad Amaryllidem* (II 39).

Daniel Heinsius, *Nederduytsche Poemata*, Amsterdam 1616, S.17 (*Op de gouden tandstocker*). Paul Fleming hat dieses Gedicht übersetzt (*Poetische Wälder* V 4, in *Paul Flemings deutsche Gedichte* hrsg. von J.M. Lappenberg, Darmstadt (Wiss. Buchges.) 1965, Teil I, S.210.

(22) Vgl. Georg Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin- Leipzig 1929-1933, Teil II S.240.

(23) *Julii Scaligeri Poemata Omnia*, In Bibliopolio Commeliniano 1600, S.236.

(24) *Strozii poetae patris et filii Poemata*, Venetiis 1513, *Eroticon liber primus*, S.8-9.

feuchten Lippen geküsst (*Amores* II 15,17 und *Ida* 1,13). Zweifellos hat Van Santen, der sich in Ovid sehr gut auskannte, von diesem Gedicht gewusst ; deutlich nachgeahmt hat er es aber nicht.

2. *annule*. Korrekte Schreibweise *anule*. Das doppelte *n* vielleicht unter Einfluss von *annus*, womit es übrigens keine Verwandtschaft hat (25).
articulis. "Finger". In der ersten und zweiten Ausgabe steht *digitis*. Vielleicht hat Van Santen sich zu dieser Textänderung anregen lassen durch Ovid *Amores* II 15,3 : *Te (anulum)...articulis induat illa suis*.
3. *cara*. Gehört zu *de se* ("von Natur liebenswürdig"). Gegensatz zu *dura* : Ida ist hart, weil sie den Dichter verlassen hat, aber dennoch hört er nicht auf sie zu lieben.
5. *suo sexu*. "als ihre Geschlechtsgenossinnen". Abstrakta als konkrete Kollektiva zu verwenden ist, besonders seit Cicero, im Lateinischen durchaus üblich (26).
6. *Vel Paphia vultu...* Vgl. Gerrit Hooft Jr. *Julia* 15,60 : *Julia, Acidalia non minor ipsa dea*.
7. *Ida suo facilis...* Nachahmung von Properz II 24,5 : *quodsi tam facilis spiraret Cynthia nobis*.
8. *Mollia fata....* Reminiszenz an Properz I 7,4 : *Sint modo fata tuis mollia carminibus*. Die Apodosis des in 7 angefangenen Konditionalsatzes kann man in diesem Vers bei *redderet* beginnen lassen, oder in 9 bei *Te gemmis*.
12. *combibis*. *Combibere* "aufsaugen", vgl. Ovid *Heroides* 11,54 : *et cogor lacrimas combibere ipsa meas*.
orbe "mit deinem ganzen Umkreis". Vergleichbar ist Ovid *Amores* II 15,6 (*et digitum iusto commodus orbe teras*) und 20 (*adstringens digitos orbe minore tuos*), wo ebenfalls von einem Ring die Rede ist.
14. *Memnonis*. Memnon, Sohn des Tithonos und der Eos (Latein *Aurora*), war König von Äthiopien (vgl. Hesiod *Theogonie* 984). Bei Vergil (*Aeneis* I 489) heisst er *niger Memnon*. Ovid (*Ars Amat.* III 180) nennt *Aurora Roscida...dea*.
quis = quibus.
15. *Forsan et humidulis....* Hier kann man wohl mit Recht vergleichen Gerrit Hooft *Julia* 9,4 : *Quas nunc humidulis admovet illa labris*. Van Santen und Hooft waren gute Freunde, die gleichzeitig am Amsterdamer Atheneum bei Burman studierten, auf dessen Rat sie mit einigen Kommilitonen eine Gesellschaft zur gemeinsamen Betreibung der lateinischen Poesie gegründet hatten (27). Die Uebereinkunft der beiden Zeilen dürfte daher kein reiner Zufall sein, zumal die ursprüngliche Fassung von Van Santen Vers *admoverit* statt *presserit* aufweist.
16. *Quae*. Antezedent ist *labellis*. Vor Van Santen machte u.a. der südniederländische Neulateiner Janus Lernutius (1545-1619) die Lippen zum Wohnsitz eines Gottes, indem er von Petrarca sagt : *Illius in labris ipse habitavit Amor*. (28) Daniel Heinsius nennt in den *Nederduytsche Poemata* die Lippen seiner Geliebten *deuren van koraal daer Cupido heeft zijn sael*. (29)

(25) Vgl. A. Ernout und A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine, histoire des mots*, Paris 1959², S.37-38.

(26) Beispiele bei J.B. Hofmann und A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, München 1965, S.747 ff.

(27) Vgl. D.J. van Lennep, *Memoria Hieronymi de Bosch, Instituti regii Belgici quondam socii, rite celebrata in publico classis tertiae consensu*, Amstelodami 1817, S. 13.

(28) Ian. Lernutius, *Initia, Basia, Ocelli et alia Poemata*, Lugd. Bat. 1614, S.278

(29) Dan. Heinsii *Nederduytsche Poemata*, Amsterdam 1616, S.15.

17. *Hydaspeis*. Der Hydaspes (heute Djelun oder Behut) ist ein Nebenfluss des Akesines (heute Tschinab), der seinerseits wieder ein Nebenfluss des Indus ist. Im Altertum galt Indien als ein wichtiger Lieferant von Edelsteinen. Klaudian nennt in *Panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii* 3-4 speziell den Hydaspes als reich an Edelsteinen *cinctusque imitata Gabinos/ Dives Hydaspeis augescat purpura gemmis*. Heutzutage hat die Gewinnung von Edelsteinen in Indien und Pakistan nur noch geringe Bedeutung (31).
18. *Doris*. Doris war die Tochter von Okeanos und Thetis, die Gattin von Nereus und die Mutter der 50 Nereiden (vgl. Ovid *Metamorph.* II 11). Daneben bedeutet Doris in der lateinischen Dichtersprache (bei Virgil und andern) öfters "See".
- 19-23. *Cui mihi...Parca,colum* ? In diesem Abschnitt erklärt der Dichter sich bereit, für die Geliebte in den Tod zu gehen. Im ersten Distichon wird der Ring angeredet, das zweite bezieht sich auf Ida selbst.
20. *Laodamia*. Tochter des Akastos und Gattin von Protesilaos, den sie, nachdem er vor Troja gefallen war, nicht überleben wollte. Van Santen möchte übrigens noch weiter gehen als Laodamia : er wäre schon bereit, sein Leben hinzugeben, wenn ihm nur die dauernde Anschauung von Idas Ring gewährt würde.
21. *Quod mea...* Nachahmung von Properz I 17,11 : *an poterit siccis mea fata reponere ocellis* ? Genau wie bei Properz bedeutet *fata reponere* auch hier "die Asche beisetzen".
23. *At*. In den vorhergehenden Versen hat der Dichter sich mit dem Tod beschäftigt, jetzt will er aber mitteilen, wie er während seines Lebens handeln wird.
26. *furvos. Furvus* "pechschwarz", "düster" bezieht sich mehrmals auf die Unterwelt und was dazu gehört. So z.B. Ovid *Metamorph.* V 541 : *ex Acheronte suo furvis peperisse sub antris* (32), und Statius *Thebais* VII 10-11 : ... *aut furvo Proserpina notarat/coetibus adsumptum functis*. Horaz spricht von *Furva Proserpina* (*Carm.* II 13,21).
umbra. Das Einschleiben "fremder" Elemente zwischen eine Präposition und das dazugehörige Nomen ist - einige feste Redensarten ausgenommen - in Lateinischen sehr ungebrauchlich. Die Dichtersprache bietet allerdings einige Beispiele. Mit unserem Passus lässt sich z.B. vergleichen Ovid *Fasti* V 12,551 : *ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores*. Das eingeschobene Wort *ipse* erfüllt im Satz eine nahezu gleiche Funktion wie *umbra* bei Van Santen : beide Wörter sind attributive Bestimmungen zum Subjekt (33).
- 27-28. *Cum dominae....deficiet*. Diese Verse stimmen fast wörtlich überein mit Hooft *Julia* 15, 73-74 : *Si moriar, poterit non immemoresse puellae/Lingua, at Juliolae in nomine deficit*. Die aus diesem Distichon sprechende Antithetik, die Liebe und Leid, Leben und Tod miteinander verbindet, ist, in der neulateinischen wie in der volkssprachlichen Renaissance - und Barocklyrik, eine bekannte Erscheinung (34).

(31) Vgl. Ludwig Alsdorf, *Vorderindien*, Braunschweig 1955, S.143.

(32) Die meisten modernen Ausgaben lesen hier *Ex Acheronte suo silvis peperisse sub atris*.

(33) Näheres in J. Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots dans la phrase latine III*, Paris 1949, S.36 ff.

(34) Einzelheiten bei Hans Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik. Zur Geschichte des Petrarkismus*, Göttingen 1963, S.185 ff. Typische Beispiele, von Pyritz aus Flemings Werken entnommen sind u.a. *Epigr.* III 49,2 (*virgo potens animae vita morsque meae*) und *Son.* IV 49,14 (*Du bist mein grösstes Glück, und grösstes Unglücke*).

II

In der zweiten Elegie weiss der Dichter sich keinen Rat. Alles Mögliche hat er versucht, Ida für sich zu gewinnen (7-14), aber er findet kein Entgegenkommen : das Mädchen verhält sich ihm gegenüber nach wie vor kühl und abweisend (5-6). Hat es überhaupt noch Zweck so weiterzumachen (1-4) ? Da bleibt wohl nichts anderes übrig als in die Fremde zu gehen, weit weg von der Geliebten (15-20). Wie es ihm dort wohl ergehen würde, erfahren wir im zweiten Teil der Elegie, von 21 bis zum Ende. Ausführlich schildert uns der Dichter dabei, wie er, ohne Freunde und Verwandte, einsam in der Fremde sterben wird. Zu spät werde Ida ihren Stolz bedauern (33-37, 41-42).

In dieser Elegie finden sich eine Reihe fester Motive der römischen (und späteren) Liebespoesie : erst das spröde Benehmen des Mädchens ihrem Liebhaber gegenüber (*iniuria, fastus*), dann die Versuche des Abgewiesenen, durch eine weite Reise seinen Liebesqualen zu entrinnen, schliesslich auch seine Todesgedanken.

Eine Kombination dieser drei Motive findet sich ebenfalls in Properz I 17, wenn auch ganz anders ausgearbeitet als bei Van Santen. Cynthias sprödes Verhalten hat den Dichter zu einer Seereise veranlasst (1-4). Das Wetter ist sehr rauh, und das Schiff droht zu vergehen (5-8). Properz fragt sich nun, ob er gut daran getan habe zu verreisen (15 ff.). Wäre er nicht an Bord gegangen, so hätte er zu Hause sterben können, und seine Liebste hätte ihm die letzte Ehre erwiesen (19, 21-22 : *illic si qua meum sepelissent fata dolorem/...illa meo caros donasset funere crines/molliter et tenera poneret ossa rosa*). Auch Properz I 1 bringt das Motiv der Reise als Heilmittel gegen eine unglückliche Liebe (29-30 : *...ferte per extremas et ferte per undas/ qua non ulla meum femina norit iter*) ; weitere Beispiele finden sich u.a. bei Ovid (*Remedia Amoris* 213-224). Das *iniuria/fastus*-Motiv ist überhaupt sehr verbreitet, nicht nur bei Properz, sondern auch bei Tibull, Ovid und vielen anderen Dichtern (35). Auch in der Renaissancedichtung spielt es eine wichtige Rolle. Das fängt bereits an mit der Schlussterzine von Petrarcas dritten Sonett *Però, al mio parer, non li fu onore/ferir me de saetta in quello stato/a voi armata non pur l'arco*. In der Folgezeit wird das Motiv zu immer phantastischeren Formen ausgestattet : Aloisius Priulus z.B. sagt, dass seine Liebste grausamer sei als ein Tiger (36), und bei Hugo Grotius lesen wir : *Sed nunc cum duros silices emolliat unda/Illa meis contra fletibus obriguit* (37). Van Santen drückt sich erheblich gemässiger aus, er lässt sogar die Möglichkeit offen, dass Ida ihre unerbittliche Haltung aufgeben wird, obwohl er fürchtet, diese Umkehr könnte vielleicht zu spät kommen.

(35) Einige Belege : Tibull II 6, III 4, III 6 ; Properz I 18, II 4, II 5, III 17, III 21 ; Ovid Amores II 17, III 5. Siehe weiter R. Müller, *Motivkatalog der römischen Elegie*, Zürich 1952, passim.

(36) *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum rec. Io Matthaeus Toscanus*, Lutetiae 1577, Vol. II S 206 f. *Ad puellam*.

(37) H. Grotius, *Poemata*, Lugd. Bat. 1617, S.409 (*Lachrimae* 5 ff.).

1. *Fallaci amori*. Dativus auctoris zu *vinctus* : *amori* ist hier als Person aufzufassen.
3. *vernantem*. *Vernare* hängt mit *ver* "Frühling" zusammen und bedeutet eigentlich "Frühling machen" (zur Zeit des Frühlings), "sich verjüngen".
- 5-6. *Surdior Ida...scopulis*. In diesem Distichon wird Ovid *Metamorph.* XIII 801 und 804 nachgeahmt. Dort heisst es nämlich von der Nymphe Galatea : *His immobilior scopulis.../surdior aequoribus calcato immitior hydra*.
7. *Non te blanditiae....* Der Dichter erzählt von seinen vergeblichen Bemühungen, Idas Liebe zu gewinnen. Die heftigen Gefühle, die ihn dabei bewegen, sollen dem Leser durch die Anapher von *non* (vgl. 7-12) deutlich gemacht werden. (38)
9. *Non sola... Sola te dote* erklärt *sat ditia* ; *tui* ist Genitivus obiectivus zu *vota* ; man konstruiere also *vota tui sat ditia sola te dote*. Die Sehnsucht des Dichters nach Ida ist nur darum genügend stark, weil sie sich auf Ida richtet. Etwas Ähnliches finden wir in den Schlusszeilen von Paul Flemings *Sonett an Chrysillen* : (39) *Wenn du dich hältst so hoch, als sich dein Wert beläuft/So kann dich Niemand nicht als du dich selbst bezalen*. Mit anderen Worten : der Wert Chrysillens ist so hoch, dass nur sie selbst ihrem eigenen Wert entspricht.
10. *ducta. Carmina ducere* "Gedichte schreiben", manchmal in poetischer Sprache, z.B. bei Properz IV 6,3 (*Caesaris in nomen ducuntur carmina*) und Ovid *Epp. ex Ponto* I 5, (*et mihi si quis erat ducendi carminis usus*).
11. *Non anni...* Hier die - soweit wir sehen - einzige Anlehnung an Vergil (*Aeneis* II 198) : *Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae*.
13. *Inve tuam faciem* "um dein Antlitz zu sehen". Vielleicht will Van Santen uns hier eine Situation vorführen, wie sie von Properz I 16,17-44 geschildert wird, wo ein junger Mann nachts vor der verriegelten Tür seines Mädchens liegt und über ihr sprödes Verhalten klagt (40).
14. *studiis* ("Studien", "wissenschaftliche Beschäftigungen"), Dativ bei *periens*.
16. *animis*. Im Plural öfters "Stolz".
18. *Ut toto a facie* usw. Nachahmung von Ovid *Epp. ex Ponto* II 9,48 : *aque tuis toto divisor orbe rogis*.
- 19-20. *Ut laribus* usw. Dieses Distichon wiederholt die Verse 17-18 mit noch etwas mehr Nachdruck : sogar die Hoffnung Ida jemals wieder zu sehen will Van Santen von sich werfen.
- 21-22. *Seu trucibus...* Zwei Gebiete kommen für den Dichter als freiwilliger Verbannungsort in Frage : *America* und *Guinea*. Amerika nennt er *levis*, hier wohl zu interpretieren als "flach" (gegenüber *asper* "rauh", "gebirgig", vgl. Cicero *Partitiones Oratoriae* 10,36 : *In locis autem et illa naturalia (spectantur) plani an montuosi, leves an asperi*). Man sollte nicht danach fragen, wieso er eigentlich auf diese Bezeichnung

(38) Schon bei den antiken Rhetoren lesen wir, dass die Anapher häufig in Texten zu finden ist, in denen eine starke Gefühlsbewegung zum Ausdruck gebracht werden soll. Nach Angabe Aquilas verwenden *vehementes oratores...quando praecipue et ipsi commoti videri volunt* die Anapher. (Siehe *Rhetores latini minores* ed. C. Halm, Frankfurt am Main 1964 ; unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1863, S.32). Bei Quintilian (*Inst.Orat.* IX 2,30) heisst es über die Anapher : *ab iisdem verbis plura acriter et instanter incipiunt*. Vgl. auch Hoffmann-Szantyr, *Lat. Gramm. und Stilistik*, S.694 ff.

(39) Sonett IV 25, cf. *Paul Flemings deutsche Gedichte* hrsg. von J.M. Lappenberg, Teil I, S.502.

(40) Dieses, in der erotischen Poesie häufig verwandte Motiv wird eingehend behandelt in F.O. Copley, *Exclusus Amator. A study in Latin love poetry*, Madison 1956 (American Philolog. Assoc. Phil. Monogr. 17).

- verfallen ist ; er hat einfach das Bild eines fernen, öden und unwirtschaftlichen Landes heraufbeschwören wollen und dazu den Namen Amerikas benutzt. Auf Grund dieser Ueberlegung hat er auch die Einwohner Amerikas bezeichnet als *truces Mauri* ; *Mauri* sind eigentlich die Bewohner von Mauretanien an der Westküste Afrikas, aber bei den lateinischen Dichtern bedeutet *maurus* zuweilen auch "afrikanisch". Van Santen hat nun diese Bezeichnung auf die farbigen Ureinwohner Amerikas übertragen.
23. *Qua desiderium...* Von hier an bis zum Ende handelt die Elegie über den Tod des Dichters und dessen Folgen. Beschrieben wird die Einsamkeit, in der er sterben wird, von niemandem beweint ; keiner wird seine Augen nach dem Tode schliessen, die Tränen der Geliebten werden sein Gesicht nicht benetzen. Diese Elemente finden sich auch in Ovid *Tristia* III 3,38 ff.
24. *Continget...* Dieser Vers ist wahrscheinlich eine Nachahmung von Ovid *Tristia* III 38 : *et fiet ipso tristia fata loco*.
25. *buxo*. *Buxus* oder *buxum* (πύξος "Buchsbaum(holz)"), metonymisch dann auch aus Buchsbaumholz bereitete Gegenstände, wie etwa Kämme, Schreibtäfelchen, oder, wie hier, Flöten. Vgl. Ovid *Metamorph.* IV 30 und XII 158.
choros supremos. *Chori supremi* "Chöre, die bei den Bestattungszereemonien mitwirken". *Suprema* bedeutet das öfteren "letzte Ehre", "Begräbnisfeier".
27. *licet*. Als Konjunktion ohne zugehöriges Verbum in der Dichtersprache nicht ungewöhnlich.
raptum gehört zu *corpus* in 28.
comitare. Poetisch für *comitari*. Vgl. z.B. Properz II 7,15, Ovid *Metamorph.* VIII,692, XIII 55, *Epp. ex Ponto* II 2,83, III 2,33 usw.
- 29-30. *Nec misero in partem* usw. Nicht auszuschliessen ist hier ein Einfluss von Ovid *Amores* III 9,49 ff. : *Hinc certe madidos fugientis pressit ocellos/Mater, et in cineres ultima dona tulit/Hinc soror in partem misera cum matre doloris/Venit, inornatas dilaniata comas*.
32. *Lumina cognatas...* Wörtlich : "meine Augen werden den Verwandten nicht unter die Hände kommen". Mit anderen Worten : meine Verwandten werden meine Augen nach dem Tode nicht schliessen.
34. *Non facies lacrimas...* Van Santen hat hier Ovid *Ars Amandi* II 326 nachgeahmt : *et sicco lacrimas combibat ore suas*.
35. *Oscula* usw. Nachahmung von Properz II 13,29 : *osculaue in gelidis pones suprema labellis*.
37. *superet* = *supersit*, wie öfters in der Dichtersprache.
- 39-40. *Umbræque Gaetulas...* Van Santen hat sich hier inspirieren lassen durch Ovid *Tristia* III 3,63-64 : *inter Sarmaticas Romana vagabitur umbras/Perque feros manes hospita semper erit*. Die Verse Ovids stehen freilich in einem anderen Kontext, weil an erster Stelle über die traurigen Folgen gesprochen wird, die die pythagoreischen Theorien für die Menschheit haben würden. Der Gedanke, ein Verbannter zu sein und in grosser Entfernung von Familie, Freunden und Bekannten leben zu müssen, spielt jedoch mit eine Rolle.
39. *Gaetulas*. Die Gaetuli wohnten im Süden Mauretaniens, also unweit des bereits früher genannten Guinea, das neben Amerika als weiterer möglicher Verbannungsort genannt wird.
- 41-42. *Ida, tui fastus...superba, tuae*. Im letzten Distichon warnt der Dichter vor den unheilvollen Folgen, die ihr *fastus* haben kann. Die Formulierung von 42 erinnert in etwa an Properz III 25,18 : *eventum formæ disce timere tuæ*.

III

Mit Elegie III beginnt eine neue Phase. Während die ersten beiden Gedichte der *Ida* im Zeichen der zwischen dem Dichter und der Geliebten eingetretenen Verfremdung stehen, findet in der dritten Elegie eine merkliche Annäherung statt. Das veranlasst Van Santen, tiefer auf die wirkliche Gründe seiner Liebe zu *Ida* einzugehen (11-26); daneben wird in diesem Gedicht ihre einzigartige Bedeutung für sein poetisches Schaffen hervorgehoben (siehe besonders 7 und 22 ff.)

1. *quis*. attributiv (= *qui*)
urguet = *urget*.
3. *an*. Diesem *an* entspricht *an* in 7: ist es die Muse, oder ist es *Ida*, die ihn wieder zum Dichten veranlasst?
innocuum. *Innocuus* "unschuldig"; in klassischer Zeit findet sich diese Bedeutung nur im poetischen Sprachgebrauch. Woran der Dichter unschuldig zu sein hofft, erfahren wir in 5-6.
4. *Calliopea*. *Kalliope* ist eigentlich die Muse der Epik, sie kann aber auch die anderen literarischen Gattungen vertreten.
- 5-6. *Si modo...* Wahrscheinlich geht dieses Distichon zurück auf Tibull III 4,15-16: *Si mea nec turpi meus est obnoxia facto/nec laesit magnos impia lingua deos*. Tibullreminiszenzen gibt es bei Van Santen übrigens sehr wenig.
7. *manifestius*. *Ida* ist für den Dichter ein konkreteres *numen* als die Musen, obwohl diese im eigentlichen Sinn *numina* sind und keine Menschen.
8. *attonitum*. Nicht "bestürzt", sondern "begeistert", "inspiriert". Bei den lateinischen Dichtern öfters, vgl. z.B. Vergil *Aeneis* VII 580 *attonitae Baccho matres*, Horaz *Carm.* III 19,14 *attonitus vates* usw.
- 9-10 *Certe praeteritos...videre meas*. In diesem Distichon bahnt sich die günstige Wende an: *Ida* gibt ihre spröde Haltung auf.
10. *lenta*. *Lentus* "ungerührt", "unerbittlich". Vgl. für die Bedeutung Ovid *Amores* III 6,60: *Ille habet et silices et vivo in pectore ferrum/Qui tenero lacrimas lentus in ore videt*.
11. *ab ore*. *Ab* ist hier nahezu gleichzusetzen mit *post*. Ebenso Ovid *Heroides* 18,69: *A Veneris facie non est prior ulla tuaque*. Mit dem Distichon 11-12 fängt das eigentliche Lob auf *Ida* an, das bis zum Ende des Gedichtes anhält. Der Dichter will in dieser Laudatio zum Ausdruck bringen, dass nicht *Idas* körperliche Reize ihn so stark anziehen, sondern vielmehr ihr Geist und Gemüt.
13. *furoris*. *Furor* "leidenschaftliche, heisse Liebe", in der römischen Dichtersprache nicht ungewöhnlich. So Catull, 64,197: *amenti caeca furore*, Ovid *Metamorph IX* 512: *forsitan illius possem indulgere furori* (Liebe der Byblis zu ihrem Bruder), XIV 701: *postquam ratione furem vincere non potuit* (Liebe des Iphis zu Anaxarete).
14. *myrtea*. *Myrteus* "myrtenfarbig", kastanienbraun".
15. *olim*. Bezieht sich nicht nur auf die Vergangenheit, sondern auch - wie z.B. an dieser Stelle - auf die Zukunft. Van Santen hat in diesem Vers Ovid *Heroides* 20,58 nachgeahmt, wo es heisst: *quaeque precor veniant in mea colla manus*.
- 17-26. *Et decor...petat ille suis*. In diesem Abschnitt, der den Kern der Laudatio bildet, hat der Dichter die Eigenschaften nennen wollen, mit denen *Ida* ihn betört hat. Es sind ihre angeborene Würde, ihre Güte und Bescheidenheit (dieser letzte Vorzug wird sogar zweimal erwähnt: in 18 und 23), die von ihr ausgehende Ruhe, daneben auch

- ihr Verstand, ihre Liebenswürdigkeit und ihr Geschick, eine gepflegte Unterhaltung zu führen. Sie ist die personifizierte Tugend (25-26). Die oben genannten Vorzüge kennzeichneten ohne Zweifel - wenigstens in den Augen Van Santens (41) - die Individualperson der Anna Brender à Brandis ; sie entsprechen aber auch dem in 18. Jahrhundert weit verbreiteten Bestreben, Tugend und gesellschaftliche Gewandtheit zu identifizieren (42). In grossen Masse gilt dies z.B. für Idas Geschick, eine Konversation zu führen : jedermann, der diese von der Gesellschaft hoch geschätzte Tugend erlangen will, soll - so lautet die *communis opinio* - sich in erster Linie um den Beifall seiner Mitmenschen bemühen, und eines der wirksamsten Mittel dies zu erreichen, ist die Kunst der Konversation (43). Auch die für Ida charakteristische Seelenruhe und Bescheidenheit gehören in diesen Rahmen : Jean-Jacques Rousseau z.B. betont in *La recherche du bonheur* (1776) den engen Zusammenhang zwischen Tugend und Bescheidenheit. Dass Idas liebenswürdige Gewandtheit im Umgang mit anderen auch recht gut dazu passt, bedarf wohl keiner näheren Erläuterung.
20. *Hyblaei. Hyblaeus*, Adjektiv abgeleitet von Hybla. Drei Städte auf Sizilien trugen diesen Namen : das nördlich von Syracus gelegen **Υβλα τὰ Μέγαρα* war wegen seines Honigs bekannt (Vergil *Bukol.* 1,55, Ovid *Tristia* V 13,22).
 22. *Ingenuusque. Ingenuus* : "natürlich", "ungeschminkt" wie z.B. in Properz I 4,13.
 26. *hinc*. Bezieht sich auf Ida.
 27. *Tu modo te nostris* usw. Jetzt nimmt der Dichter den in 1-8 gesponnenen Faden wieder auf, indem er Ida eindringlich bittet, sie möge sich von ihm besingen lassen. Etwas Ähnliches auch bei Ovid *Amores* I 3,19 : *te mihi materiem felicem in carmina praebe*.
 28. *flammis*. Nicht ungebräuchlich für "(heisse) Liebe", vgl. Catull 64,92, Ovid *Metamorph.* VII 17, Horaz *Carm.* I 27,20.
 - 29-30. *Tunc venia...* usw. Auf ähnliche Weise entschuldigt sich auch Properz II 25, 3-4 : *Ista meis fiet notissima fata libellis/Calve tua venia, pace, Catulle, tua. Relande*. Adriaan Reland (1676-1718), ab 1701 Professor für orientalische Sprachen an der Universität Utrecht. Ebenfalls 1701 erschien (anonym) sein 13 Gedichte umfassender Elegienzyklus *Galatea*, der später mehrere Auflagen erlebte. Das Werk erfreute sich damals grosser Beliebtheit ; Hofman Peerlkamp urteilte begeistert : *Galatea est divini plane decoris* (45).
 30. *Et mea me nomen* usw. Vgl. Properz II 34,93-94 : *Cynthia quin etiam versu laudata Properti/Hos inter si me ponere Fama volet*. Mit *hos* sind Dichter wie Gallus, Calvus und Catull gemeint, denen es ja auch gelang, die Geliebte mit ihren Liedern unsterblich zu machen. Vgl. Properz II 34,87 ff.

(41) Die Elegien der *Ida* richten sich ja - im Gegensatz zu etwa Ovids *Amores* - an eine wirklich existierende Geliebte, und soweit uns bekannt ist, bestand zwischen Laurens Van Santen und Anna Brender à Brandis durchaus eine gewisse Zuneigung. Uebrigens darf man nicht übersehen, dass die poetische Konvention hier eine Laudatio nicht nur der Frauenschönheit, sondern auch der Tugend voraussetzt. Schon für Petrarca bildete leibliche und seelische Vollkommenheit in wechselseitiger Durchdringung die letzte Höhe seines Frauenideals, und später behält der Petrarkismus diese Idee bei, wenn auch in vergrößerter Form (vgl. Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik*, S. 165 ff). Formal bringt Van Santen also nichts Neues : die Verbindung von *forma* und *virtus* ist an sich einfach ein schablonenhafter Topos der erotischen Poesie.

(42) Vgl. P. d'Holbach, *Système de la Société*, Londres 1774, Teil I, S.113 : *La vertu n'est réellement que la sociabilité*.

(43) Siehe Robert Mauzi, *L'idée du bonheur au XVIIIème siècle*, Paris 1969⁴, S.587.

(44) Mauzi, *L'idée du bonheur*, S.605.

(45) Hofman Peerlkamp, *Liber de vita*, S.471.

31. *memori*. Hier aktiv "jemand an etwas erinnerend", "auf etwas aufmerksam machend".
- 32-34. *Pendebit...munera fronte, Venus!* Eine ähnliche Widmung finden wir bei Properz II 14,25 ff: *Magna ego dona tua figam, Cytherea, columna/Taleque sub nostro nomine carmen erit!* / *Has pono ante tuas tibi, diva, Propertius aedes/Exuvias, tota nocte receptus amans.*

IV

Die vierte Elegie hat die Form eines Briefes an die im Ausland weilende Geliebte. Wie ein richtiger Brief trägt sie auch ein Datum : III Kal. Septemb. 1773, d.h. 30. August 1773.

Elegien in Briefform gab es schon im Altertum, man denke nur an Ovids *Heroides* und *Epistulae ex Ponto* (46). In der humanistischen Dichtung finden sich viele Vertreter dieser Gattung : Petrarca dichtet einen Brief der Kirche an den Papst, 1543 schreibt Michael Toxites (1515-1581) eine Heroide des Papstes an den Erzbischof von Köln, von Thomas Münzer gibt es einen Brief, in dem Graecia Germania um Hilfe gegen die Türken bittet (47). In den Niederlanden schrieb Janus Secundus zwei Bücher Briefe in elegischen Distichen ; auch die zehnte Elegie von Relands *Galatea* hat die Form eines Briefes.

Der Dichter schreibt Ida von Landhaus "Raaphorst" aus, wo er sich für einige Zeit zur Erholung aufhält. "Raaphorst" liegt im Dorf Wassenaar, in der Nähe von Den Haag und Leiden ; unmittelbar nebenan befindet sich "Santhorst", das Gut Pieter Burmans. Nach einer kurzen Beschreibung seines Aufenthaltsortes (5-12) verleiht Van Santen seiner Sehnsucht nach Ida Ausdruck und stellt sich vor, sie wären zusammen. Wie schön und herrlich würde dann alles sein ! (13-40). Die Wirklichkeit sieht leider ganz anders aus. Ida ist weit und der Dichter leidet schrecklich unter ihrer Abwesenheit, denn sie erfüllt noch immer sein ganzes Denken und Fühlen (41-64). Er fleht sie an, bald zurückzukommen : dann werde alles wieder gut sein (65-74) ! Einen Augenblick kommen noch Zweifel auf : Ida bevorzuge doch keinen anderen (75-80) ? Aber rasch schlägt der Dichter sich diese misstrauischen Gedanken aus dem Kopf : seine Liebe ist unerschütterlich, und er weiss, dass Ida ihm trotz seiner bescheidenen Verhältnisse treu bleiben wird (81-92).

(46) Näheres in H. Peter, *Der Brief in der römischen Dichtung*, Hildesheim 1965, S. 178 ff.

(47) Weitere Beispiele bei Friedrich Beissner, *Geschichte der deutschen Elegie*, Berlin 1961, S.50 ; H. Dörrie, *Der Heroische Brief*, Berlin 1968 ; dazu Addenda von J. IJsewijn, in *Leuvense Bijdragen*, 59 (Löwen 1970), SS. 66-69.

- 1-4. *Ecquid...verba notata manu* ? Van Santen hat sich hier offenbar anregen lassen durch die Einleitung von Ovids 15. *Heroide* : *Ecquid ut aspecta est studiosae littera dextrae/Protinus est oculis cognita nostra tuis/An nisi legisses auctoris nomina Sapphus/Hoc breve nescies unde movetur opus* ? Daneben spürt man auch starken Einfluss von Ovid *Epp. ex Ponto* II 10 ff. : *Ecquid ab impressae cognosces imagine cerae/Haec tibi Nasonem scribere verba Macer ? / Auctorisque sui si non est anulus index/Cognitane est nostra littera facta manu* ?
1. *fidelis*. "dem man trauen kann", "vertraut, zuverlässig", "wohl bekannt".
2. *littera* poetisch für *litterae*.
5. *Me tenet...* Dieser Vers ist eine nahezu wörtliche Wiedergabe der Anfangszeile von Pieter Burmans Gedicht an J. de Groot : *Me tenet umbrifero Santhorstia villa recessu* ; (48) wahrscheinlich liegt hier eine absichtliche Ehrung des ehemaligen Lehrmeisters vor, der vorübergehend sein Nachbar war. Burman wird mit noch grösserer Emphase in 8 gepriesen, wo er mit Apollon, der Gott der Dichter gleichgestellt wird.
6. *Leida tibi...* In gerader Linie ist "Raaphorst" weiter entfernt von Den Haag als von Leiden - von der Stadtmitte aus 9 beziehungsweise 6,5 Kilometer. Wenn man von den Hauptstrassen ausgeht, beträgt die Entfernung "Raaphorst"-Den Haag 10 km, die Strecke "Raaphorst"-Leiden 9 km.
7. *sylva*. In der Nähe von "Raaphorst" war - und ist auch heute noch - ziemlich viel Wald.
8. *intonso deo*. Gemeint ist Apollon, der nie "tonsus" abgebildet wird. Hier hat *intonsus* wohl die Bedeutung "langhaarig" : einen bärtigen Apollon gibt es nämlich nur auf Vasenbildern der früh-archaischen Zeit (49). Ovid nennt Apollon *intonsus* in *Metamorph.* XII 585 : *talibus intonsum compellat Sminthea (= Apollon) dictis, Castalis*. Abgeleitet von *Castalia*, dem Brunnen am Fuss des Parnassos. Im Griechischen kommt das fem. Suffix - is (masc.-eus oder -os) häufig vor bei gentilia (Personennamen nach dem Vaterlande oder Stammort). (50) *Κασταλίς* (von *Κασταλία*) ist belegt bei Theokrit 7,148 *Κασταλίδες νύμφαι* "die Musen"). Tibull III 1, 15-16 spricht von *Castaliam umbram*.
9. *dexter* "gewandt", "imstande", "fähig". Vgl. z.B. Ovid *Epp. ex Ponto* IV 16,24 : *et scripti Marius dexter in omne genus*. Die Verbindung von *dexter* mit einem Infinitiv befremdet ; andererseits gebrauchen die Dichter und die späteren Prosaiker den Infinitiv nach sehr vielen ein Können ausdrückenden Adjektiven und Partizipien. (51) *Bassus*. Gemeint ist François Pieter de Bas, Sekretär von Voorschoten, der 1772 "Raaphorst" von Willem Suermondt übernommen hatte (52). Die dreimalige Wiederholung des Namens *Bassus* in 9, 11 und 12 ist etwas holprig.
10. *indulsit*. Transitiv "überlassen". Die Kombination *indulgere hospitio* findet sich bei Vergil *Aeneis* IV 5-51 : *sacris litatis...indulge hospitio* ; *indulgere* ist hier jedoch intransitiv gebraucht.
- meo*. Pronomen possessivum statt Genitivus obiectivus.
- 11-12. *Notus* usw. Ueber die Beziehungen zwischen Van Santen und de Bas sind weiter keine Einzelkeiten bekannt.

(48) P. Burmannus Secundus, *Poematum libri IV*, Lugd. Bat. 1774, S.479.

(49) Vgl. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft...* hrsg. von G. Wissowa, Stuttgart 1894... III, Sp.86 ff.

(50) Vgl. Raphael Kühner und Friedrich Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, Darmstadt (Wiss. Buchges.) 1966, I 2, S.274.

(51) Vgl. R. Kühner und C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, Leverkusen 1955³, I, S.683 ff.

(52) Vgl. F. de Bas, *Prins Frederik der Nederlanden en zijn tijd* IV, 1 Schiedam 1914, S.188.

13. *Hic utinam...* Hier beginnt die Klage des Dichters über die Abwesenheit der Geliebten.
riguos. Riguus (von *rigare* "bewässern") "bewässernd" (aktiv), "bewässert" (passiv). Hier muss man von der zweiten Grundbedeutung ausgehen ("blühend", "üppig"). Einer der damaligen Besitzer, die Witwe de Cadogan, hatte in den vierziger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts die Anlagen erheblich verschönern lassen (53).
15. *properata oscula* "hastige Küsse". Für einen Augenblick bricht beim Dichter die Leidenschaft durch.
ducta. In Verbindung mit *oscula* auffallend (normal sagt man *oscula figere/ferre/dare*). Für *ducere* "hervorrufen", "verursachen" gibt es aber Belege, wie etwa Tibull I 2,79-80, wo von *soporem ducere* die Rede ist.
17. *saturare*. Ebenso wie *captare* in 19 noch abhängig von *liceat* (15).
figura "schöne Gestalt", "Schönheit"
18. *Pendenti...* Wir müssen uns vorstellen, dass Laurens van Santen mit seiner Ida durch die Anlagen "Raaphorsts" spazieren geht. Gelegentlich bleibt er stehen, neigt sich zu ihr hin, umarmt und küsst sie (*effusa per tua colla manu* ist wörtlich "während meine Hand sich über deinen Hals ausstreckt").
19. *spiritus*. Nominativ durch Attraktion in den Relativsatz. Für die Interpretation von *spiritus* bieten sich auf den ersten Blick zwei Möglichkeiten: "Seele" und "Atem(hauch)". Wenn wir uns für die Interpretation "Seele" entscheiden, haben wir es hier zu tun mit dem in der Renaissancedichtung öfters auftretenden Topos des Seelenraubs und der Seelenmischung im Kuss (54). Der Zusammenhang zwingt uns jedoch *spiritus* mit "Atemhauch" zu übersetzen: aus den Versen 21-22 erfahren wir ja, dass dieser *spiritus* die ermattete Seele des Dichters erquicken wird wie der Tau die trocknen Wiesen und der Zephyr die dürrer Rosen, und eine derartige Funktion passt zweifellos besser zu einem Atemhauch als zu einer Seele. Vergleichbar ist hier noch Ovid *Metamorph.* IV 71-72: *Saepe ubi constiterat hinc Thisbe, Pyramus illinc/inque vices fuerat captatus anhelitus oris*.
23. *Hic lectum dabit herba...* Die Freuden des Zusammenseins werden umständlicher geschildert und in eine pastorale Atmosphäre gezogen. 23 und 24 sind wahrscheinlich abhängig von Properz II 26a, 30ff: *...et fidos una aget aura deos/Unum litus erit sopitis unaque tecto/ Arbor, et ex una saepe bibemus aqua*.
- 25-26. *Quale...posthabuitque domum*. Anknüpfung an die Liebe der Venus zu Adonis, wie Ovid sie in den *Metamorphosen* X 525 ff. darstellt.
Auch in der Formulierung folgt Van Santen genau seinem Vorbild: vgl. 23 *hic lectum dabit herba* mit *Metamorph.* X 556: *datque torum caespes*, 25: *gramenque et pressit Adonin* mit *Metamorph.* X 557: *pressitque et gramen et ipsum*, 26: *sideream posthabuitque domum* mit *Metamorph.* X 532: *caelo praefertur Adonis* (sc. von Venus).
27. *Mollibus ipsa leges*. Das Sammeln von Früchten passt ausgezeichnet zur pastoralen Umgebung. Vgl. mit diesem Vers Polyphems Worte an Galatea in Ovid *Metamorph.* XIII 815-816: *ipsa tuis manibus silvestris nata sub umbra/millia fraga leges...*
28. *Pomaque*. Ovid erzählt in *Metamorph.* IV 125 ff., durch Pyramus' Blut habe der Maulbeerbaum (*morus*) statt weisse, schwarzrote (*pullus*, 160) Früchte bekommen, welche Farbe sie auf Bitten Thisbes beibehalten hätten (siehe 125-127, 160-161, 165).

(53) Siehe F. de Bas, *Prins Frederik der Nederlanden* S.188.

(54) Die Idee ist neuplatonisch. Näheres in N.A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance*, New York 1968 (unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1935) S.191 ff.

31. *Quam tecum vellem* usw. Die Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber Reichtum und Ehre gehört zu den Grundbegriffen der römischen elegischen Poesie (55). Der elegische Dichter legt keinen Wert auf Besitz oder gesellschaftliche Anerkennung ; wichtig sind für ihn nur die Geliebte und das poetische Schaffen in ihrem Dienst. Hinsichtlich der Formulierung vergleiche man Ovid *Tristia* III 4,43-44 :... *mollesque inglorius annos/exige*.
33. *interdum* "mittlerweile", "unterdessen", verweist auf *omnes annos* (31). *orgia* eigentlich "Geheimkult zu Ehren des Bacchus", dann auch "Geheimkult" überhaupt. Vereinzelt werden die Musen mit Bacchus in Verbindung gebracht : so ist in Aristophanes, *Ranae* 356 von *ρευνναίων ὄργια Μουσῶν* die Rede, in der *Anthologia Palatina* II 133 von *πολυίδμονος ὄργια Μούσης*.
- 34-38. *Sacra quidem...non cubat Ida meo*. Vers 35 bildet sozusagen die Ergänzung zu 28-29 : in diesem Distichon verleiht der Dichter seiner Hoffnung Ausdruck, dass Ida durch seine Gedichte unsterblich werde ; in 35 wünscht er Erfolg für sich selbst. Die Formulierung des Verses zeigt Abhängigkeit von Properz I 7,7 : *Nec tantum ingenio quantum servire dolori*.
40. *pronuba*. Die *pronuba* ist die Frau, die auf dem Hochzeitstag für die Braut zu sorgen hat. Mit *diva pronuba* ist Juno gemeint, die Patronin der Ehe (vgl. Vergil *Aeneis* IV 166 und Ovid *Heroides* 6,43). Der Dichter bittet Juno und Cytherea (=Venus) um ihre Gunst für seine Liebe.
41. *Sed quid ego* usw. Von plötzlicher Schwermut erfüllt unterbricht sich der Dichter : was ich mir so sehnlich wünsche, wird doch nie in Erfüllung gehen. In ähnlicher Weise unterbricht Jacopo Sannazaro sich selbst in der *Elegia ad Lucium Crassum* (I 1,39-40) : *Sed quid ego hei misero ventosus inania fingo/Somnia quae fors non feret ulla dies*. Ein anderes Beispiel findet sich bei A. Reland, *Galatea* 3,33-34 : *Hei mihi quod grata fingantur imagine fors/Non eventuri gaudia vana dies*.
43. *Non ea Fortunae...* Hier liegt eine Abhängigkeit vor von Ovid *Tristia* I 1,51 : *Non ita se nobis praebebat Fortuna secunda*.
45. *Dum tamen...* Von hier an bis 64 schildert der Dichter uns seine wirkliche Lage.
49. *medius*. "in der Mittagsstunde".
50. *Nec vespertino gelu...* Van Santen folgt in diesem Distichon Properz I 16,23-24, wo wir lesen : *Me mediae noctes, me sidera plena iacentem/Frigidaque Eoo me dolet aura gelu*. Der Ablativ *vespertino gelu* mutet sehr sonderbar an, und ist kein gutes Latein ; wahrscheinlich kann man ihn noch am besten als eine Art Ablativus qualitatis zu *aura* auffassen und *aura vespertino gelu* übersetzen mit "der kühle Abendwind". Vielleicht findet dieser Fehlgriff seine Ursache darin, dass Van Santen die Properzstelle zu getreu nachgeahmt hat, und dass er - nach dem Vorbild von *Eoo gelu*, das bei Properz als Ablativus modi zu *dolet* durchaus funktionell ist - selbst *vespertino gelu* geschrieben hat, ohne zu bedenken, dass eine derartige Ablativkonstruktion zu seinem Text überhaupt nicht passt.
nec deserit "lässt mich nicht im Stich", "ist noch mit mir zusammen", mit anderen Worten, auch wenn es Abend wird, ruft der Dichter noch Idas Namen.
51. *Zudviciacae*. Der Gutsitz "Zuidwijk" liegt nordöstlich von "Santhorst", das selbst wieder nordöstlich von "Raaphorst" liegt..
Napaeae von *ναπαῖος* zu *νάπη* ("Waldtal", "Schlucht"). *Napaeae* sind also eigentlich Talnymphen (vgl. Vergil *Georg.* IV 535).
52. *Nai*. Vokativ von *Nais*, wörtlich "Wassernymphe" (*Ναῖς, Νηῖς* bei *νάω* "fließen" und *νέω* "schwimmen"). daneben auch "Nymphe" überhaupt, vgl. Ovid *Metamorph.* I 691 u.a.

(55) Vgl. Tibull I 10, III 3 ; Properz I 6, I 7, I 14, II 27, II 30, III 2, III 4, III 5 ; Ovid *Amores* I 15, II 18. Siehe weiter Müller, *Motivkatalog* S.47 ff.

- 53-54. *Dicite vos...* Denselben Wunsch äussert auch Properz I 18,31-32: *Sed, qualiscumque es, resonent mihi Cynthia silvae/Nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent.*
54. *obstrepit.* Wörtlich: "bei/ gegen etwas ertönen", "sich hören lassen".
55. *Echo.* Böotische Bergnymph, lenkte Hera ab, während Zeus sich an andere Nymphen heranmachte. Zum Strafe nahm Hera ihr die Sprache insofern, dass sie nur noch die letzte Worte anderer zu wiederholen vermochte. Vgl. Ovid *Metamorph.* III 339 ff. (56).
- 57-58. *Sylva Idam...Rhenus aquae.* In 57 macht sich das Rascheln der durch den Wind bewegten Blätter im Walde bemerkbar (*sylva...sussibilat ipsa susurris*); so auch in 58 das Rauschen des Rheinwassers (*raucæ murmure Rhenus aquae*). *Sussibilare* ist, soweit wir wissen, nur hier belegt; unter *Rhenus* ist der bei Katwijk in die Nordsee mündende "Oude Rijn" zu verstehen, ein ziemlich unscheinbarer Fluss, dessen Wasser nicht sehr *raucus* gewesen sein mag (57).
59. *finitimam urbem.* Gemeint ist Leiden, wie sich aus 62 ergibt.
mea vita. (*Mea*) *vita* als Kosewort für eine geliebte Person findet sich schon bei Plautus *Stichus* 584 und Properz I 2,1, II 20,17. Auch bei den Neulateinern kommt *vita* in dieser Bedeutung vor, vgl. z.B. Janus Secundus *Basia* 2,11,8,29,13,1,13.
61. *aegro amori* "eine Liebe, mit der es nicht gut steht", "Liebesleid".
65. *Tu celer...* Jetzt die Bitte an Ida, sie möge bald zurückkehren.
66. *numina nostra.* Hier die einzige Stelle in der *Ida*, wo Van Santen nachdrücklich die Augen seiner Geliebten preist. Sie sind *numina*, haben für ihn also eine überirdische Kraft. In vergleichbarem Sinne äussert sich Ovid *Heroides* 12, 159 und *Amores* III 11,47- 48, wenn er schon nicht die Augen, sondern das Gesicht oder den ganzen Körper zu *numina* macht (58). Bekanntlich sind die Augen des Mädchens ein aussergewöhnlich beliebtes Thema der petrarkistischen Preislyrik: sie haben dort unverändert eine Eigenschaft: unfassbarer Glanz und hellste Klarheit. Im 18. Jahrhundert ist der Petrarkismus grösstenteils überwunden: vereinzelte Ueberreste lassen sich aber - wenigstens bei den Neulateinern - noch nachweisen: so besingen Adriaan Reland und Gerrit Hooft Jr. die Augen ihrer Mädchen in petrarkistischen Stil (59).
67. *Quod si non essent* usw. Der Dichter hat eine starke Abhängigkeit zwischen seinen Augen und denen der Ida konstruiert. Von letzteren geht eine belebende Kraft aus, ohne die die Augen des Dichters brechen würden. Für das "Brechen" gebraucht Van Santen *nature*. Die Grundbedeutung dieses Wortes ist "schwimmen", daneben

(56) Siehe auch W. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1884-1937 I, Sp. 1213-1214.

(57) Absichtliche Klangmalerei und Lautsymbolik gibt es in der *Ida* ansonsten ganz vereinzelt. In 1,26 wird durch die u-Laute die Unheimlichkeit und Finsternis der Unterwelt wiedergegeben; in 2,15 zeigt sich am Versende in der Wiederholung des "t" eine gewisse Bissigkeit. Weiter lassen sich kaum Beispiele anführen: die Wiederholung des "t" in 2,31 und des "v" in 4,62 dient keinem deutlichen Zweck. Lautmusikalität, ohne dass irgendeine Symbolik vorliegt, tritt auf in 2,6: *mobilis aequoreis Ida minus scopulis*, und noch stärker in der ursprünglichen, erst in der Hoeufftschen Ausgabe gestrichenen, Version von 1,6: *Ore vel Idalia non minor Ida dea*.

(58) Ovid *Heroides* 12,159: *per reditus corpusque tuum, mea numina iuro*; *Amores* III 11,47: *Perque tuam faciem magni mihi numinis instar*.

(59) Vgl. Reland *Galatea* 7 (*De oculis Galateae*) und Hooft *Julia* 8 (*De Juliae oculis, spicula emittentibus*). Hooft nennt die Augen seiner Julia ebenfalls *numina nostra* (*Julia* 15,64).

- auch "überfließen", "voll sein", und dann, von Augen "schwimmen", "gläsern sein", "trübe sein" (bei Betrunkenen) und bei Sterbenden "brechen". Vgl. etwa Ovid *Metamorph.* V 71-72: *Iam moriens oculis sub nocte natantibus atra/circumspexit Athin.*
68. *umbra.* Siehe die Anmerkung zu 1,26 *umbra.*
- 69-70. *Curarum* usw. Hier dürfte eine Abhängigkeit vorliegen von Tibull IV 13,11-12: *Tu mihi curarum requies tu nocte vel atra/Lumen, et in solis tu mihi turba locis.*
71. *Oppresso* sc. *mihi.*
- 72-73. *Una vel innumerae ...in ulnis.* Hier zeigt sich wieder das geringe Interesse des Dichters am Besitz.
73. *Mea lux.* *Lux* als Kosewort kommt schon in der klassischen Zeit wiederholt vor. Siehe Ovid *Amores* I 4,25, I 8,23, *Ars Amandi* III 524, *Epp.ex Ponto* III 3,52.
75. *Quid tamen...* Hier wird der Dichter vom Zweifel ergriffen: warum verschiebt Ida immer wieder den Hochzeitstag?
socialia foedera "Ehevertrag": *socialis* bezieht sich häufig auf die Ehe (*socialis torus, socialia iura, socialis amor*)
aeternum. Adverbial "auf immer", oder, wie hier, "immer wieder" (vgl. Vergil *Georg.* II 400 und *Aeneis* VI 401).
76. *Quid laceras* usw. Nachahmung von Ovid *Heroides* 15,212: *... quid crucias pectora nostra mora?*
78. *taeda.* *Taeda* ist eigentlich "Fackel", auch "Hochzeitsfackel". "Brautfackel", und dann metonymisch "Ehe", "Vermählung" (in poetischer Sprache). Vgl. Catull 66,79, Ovid *Metamorph.* XIV 677, *Amores* III 6,75, *Heroides* 7,35.
- 79-80. *Si nisi...nullus erit.* Auch für diesen Vers war Ovid Van Santens Vorbild, und zwar in *Heroides* 15,39-40, wo es heisst: *Si nisi quae facie poterit te digna videri/Nulla futura tua est.*
81. ff. *Quod non egredior* usw. Der Dichter will hier zeigen, dass er keinem der angeblichen Nebenbuhler unterlegen ist. Denselben Gedanken hat Ovid in den *Amores* I 3,7 ff. zum Ausdruck gebracht: *Si me non veterum commendant magna parentum/Nomina, si nostri sanguinis auctor eques/Nec meus innumeris renovatur campus aratris/Temperat et sumptus parvus uterque parens.* In 81, 82 und 84 hat *quod* konzessive Bedeutung, wie in Ovid *Ars Amandi* I 261- 262: *Illa quod est virgo, quod tela Cupidinis odit/Multa dedit populo vulnera multa dabit.*
83. *essed.* Mit 1,26 und 4,68 vergleichbarer Fall: nur hat sich hier das Subjekt des Satzes zwischen Präposition und dazugehöriges Substantiv hineingeschoben.
meis. Mit Nachdruck: "ein Zweigespann, das mir allein gehört".
84. *immensi soli.* Wahrscheinlich zu verbinden mit *pretiosa* "kostbar (wegen des grossen Gebietes, was dazugehört)". Besonders im Spätlatein kombiniert man Adjektive häufig mit Genitiven in Fällen, wo der klassische Sprachgebrauch eine andere Konstruktion erfordert (60).
- 85-86. *Sed nulli cessurus amor ...cara meis.* Hier erweist Van Santen sich wieder als ein richtiger elegischer Dichter: Ruhm sagt ihm nichts (*pudor*) (61), die Liebe und die Poesie bedeuten ihm alles.

(60) Vgl. Kühner-Stegman, *Ausf. Lat. Grammatik der Lat. Sprache* I S.443 ff.

(61) Die Art und Weise, wie der Dichter sich an seine Ida richtet, ist durchaus von der Tradition geprägt, die im Neulateinertum noch deutlich stärker und überwiegender ist als irgendwo sonst. An dieser Stelle darf man jedoch die Möglichkeit einer stärker persönlich gefärbten Äusserung nicht von vornherein ausschliessen. Ida könnte sich ja sehr wohl auch durch seine Bescheidenheit zu ihm hingezogen fühlen. Deshalb ist *pudor* nicht nur Abneigung gegen Ansehen in der Öffentlichkeit sondern auch "Bescheidenheit", "Milde" als Eigenschaft.

87. *Non tamen* usw. Jetzt macht der Dichter sich um Ida keine Sorgen mehr. Amor selbst wird garantieren, dass sie ihm auf immer treu sein wird. Vgl. für die Formulierung Hooft *Julia* 15,68 : *Non aliena meos mutavit forma calores*. *calores*. In der Dichtersprache öfters "Liebe".
89. *visere*. Infinitivus pro imperativo.
90. *servabit custos*. Wahrscheinlich Nachahmung von Tibull IV 3,4 : *Incolumn custos hunc mihi servet Amor*.
- 91-92. *Sed, precor...benigna tuo* ! Das letzte Distichon fasst die Tendenz der ganzen Elegie noch einmal kurz zusammen : Ida, komm bitte möglichst bald zurück, ohne Dich kann ich nicht leben.

V

Die fünfte Elegie bringt uns den in den zwei vorhergehenden Gedichten schon angekündigten guten Ausgang der Liebesgeschichte : Laurens van Santen wird seine Ida heiraten. Dieser günstige Ablauf ist als etwas Auffallendes anzusehen, denn in den meisten Elegienzyklen hat das beschriebene Liebesverhältnis ein trauriges Ende. Das ist bereits in der römischen Liebeselegie der Fall : die Beziehung zwischen Tibull und Delia, Properz und Cynthia, Catull und Lesbia endet mit der Trennung der Liebenden. Ein ähnliches Bild zeigen die vom Petrarkismus geprägten neulateinischen Elegienzyklen, wie etwa die *Livia* (1490) des Faustus Andrelinus, die *Candida* (1491) des Ludovicus Pictorius, oder die *Hermione* (1545) des Julius Aelius Crottus. Eine Ausnahme bildet die *Xandra* (1443-1458) von Christophorus Landinus, worin Diana aufgefordert wird, der Geliebten in den Geburtswehen beizustehen, ihre Schmerzen zu lindern und den schönen Knaben gütig anzunehmen (62). Bei den niederländischen Neulateinern ist es kaum anders : sowohl die Liebe von Remaclus Arduenna zu Jordana als die von Janus Secundus zu Julia und Neaera haben kein glückliches Ende. Macht man einen Sprung ins 18. Jahrhundert, dann zeigt sich, dass die *Galatea* von Reland und die *Gellia* von Jordens ebenfalls traurig enden. Galatea erleidet auf dem Weg zu ihrem Geliebten Schiffbruch und ertrinkt (*Galatea* 13) ; Gellia verlässt ihren Liebhaber, der ihr aber dennoch ewige Treue verspricht, in der Hoffnung, dass er sie im Elyseum in die Aermeschiessen wird (*Gellia* 11,73 ff.). Einen glücklichen Ausgang dagegen hat die *Elissa* von Jeronimo de Bosch ; durch seine *patientia* (*Elissa* 7, 19) kann der Dichter letzten Endes das Herz des Mädchens für sich gewinnen. Einen günstigen Verlauf sehen wir auch in der Erstfassung von Gerrit Hoofts *Julia* : in der vierzehnten und letzten Elegie besingt der Dichter seinen Erfolg : *Visa etenim saxo nuper mihi durior ipso/Julia jam vera mollior ipsa favet* (*Julia* 14,5-6). Am Ende der von Jeronimo de Bosch besorgten Gesamtausgabe von Hoofts *Poemata* (63) sind jedoch zwei neue

(62) Vgl. Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulat. Literatur Deutschlands* Teil I S.167.

(63) *G. Hooft junioris, Civitatis Amstelaedamensis ab actis Poemata edita ab Hieronymo de Bosch*, Amstelaedami 1770.

Elegien hinzugefügt worden, in denen ein Strich durch das neugewonnene Glück der beiden Liebenden gemacht wird : der Dichter muss eine Reise nach England antreten (64), die ihr auf unbestimmte Zeit von der Geliebten trennen wird.

In der fünften Elegie lassen sich drei Teile unterscheiden. Der erfolgreichen Werbung um Ida sind die Verse 1-16 gewidmet ; im folgenden Teil (17-30) spricht der Dichter über seine Zukunftspläne. Die Elegie schliesst mit einer Mahnung : der einzige Weg zum wahren Glück sei die Liebe.

1. *Dicite io Paeon !* Nachahmung von Ovid *Ars Amandi* II 1 : *Dicite io Paeon ! et io bis dicite Paeon*. *Paeon* ist in der *Ilias* der Arzt der olympischen Götter ; später wird *Paeon* ein Epitheton Apollons, der zuweilen auch als Gott der Heilkunst auftritt (vgl. Pausanias II 24,6) *Paeon* bedeutet daneben "Lobgesang zu Ehren Apollons", "Siegesgesang".
2. *myrtus*. Wurde bei Festen getragen (vgl. Horaz *Carmina* I 4,9, II 7,25) und war Venus gewidmet (Plinius *Nat. Hist.* XII 3). Römische Feldherren trugen einen Myrtenkranz bei der *ovatio*, bisweilen auch beim eigentlichen Triumph (Plinius *Nat. Hist.* XV 125, Plutarchus *Marcellus* 22 u.a.)
5. *iugalem. iugalis* "im Joche gehend", "ehelich", "hochzeitlich". *Fides iugalis* = "eheliche Treue".
6. *rumpere Livor*. Vgl. Ovid *Remedia Amoris* 389 : *rumpere livor edax*. *Rumpere* ist infinitivus pro imperativo.
- 7-8. *Delenita...detulit ipsa meos*. Hier liegt ein Einfluss vor von Tibull IV 7,3-4 : *Exorata meis illum Cytherea Camenis/Attulit in nostrum deponitque sinum*.
- 9-10. *Tunc sub tecta maris...iugis*. Van Santen hat hier Properz I 14,11-12 nachgeahmt : *Tum mihi Pactoli veniunt sub tecta liquores/Et legitur Rubris gemma sub aequoribus*. Die Eigenschaften des Paktolos sind auf den Indus übertragen worden. Indien war im Altertum ein bedeutender Goldlieferant ; auch die Flüsse führten das kostbare Metall, vgl. Strabon XV 711. *Uterque* ist hier zu interpretieren als "auf beiden Seiten" : das Gold, das sich in den *fulva iuga* auf beiden Seiten des Flusses befindet, wird vom Strom mitgeführt. Ein Ausdruck wie *uterque Indus* ist vergleichbar mit *uterque Neptunus* (Catull 31,3) "Neptun als Gott des Meeres und der Binnengewässer", oder mit *numen utriusque Dianae* (Martial *Liber Spectaculorum* 13,5), wo *utriusque* hinweist auf Dianas Doppelfunktion als Göttin der Jagd und der Geburt. Vielleicht kann man *uterque Indus* auch interpretieren als "die beiden Indien", Indien und Amerika.
9. *gemmas*. Wahrscheinlich sind hier Perlen gemeint.
10. *iugis*. Der Indus entspringt im Kailasagebirge der Himalaiakette, fließt in nord-westlicher Richtung durch Tibet und Kaschmir bis zum Hindukuschgebirge, und biegt dann nach Südwesten ab. Seine Gesamtlänge beträgt \pm 3200 Km, 1650 Km davon liegen im Gebirge.
11. *lunato. Lunatus* "halbmond- sichelförmig", hier von den Türken "kämpfend unter dem Halbmond".
12. *Romanzovia*. Gemeint ist Peter Graf Riumiantzov-Zaidunarski (1725-1798), Feldherr Katharinas der Grossen. Kämpfte seit 1768 erfolgreich gegen die Türken. Für den ganzen Abschnitt 9-12 kann man noch vergleichen Tibull II 2,13-16 : *Nec tibi*

(64) Hooft hat diese Reise anscheinend auch in Wirklichkeit gemacht "*cum vero aliarum gentium mores et instituta cognoscere primario adolescenti summo opere utile esse existimetur*" (G. Hooft, *Poemata* ed. de Bosch, *Praefatio* S.XV).

malueris totum quaecumque per orbem/Fortis arat valido rusticus arva bove/Nec tibi gemmarum quidquid felicibus Indis/Nascitur, Eoi qua maris unda rubet.

- 13-16. *Nunc mihi...in amore dedit.* Der Uebergang zum zweiten Teil : "nun, da ich endgültig das Herz meiner Liebsten gewonnen habe, kann ich endlich glücklich sein". Die freudige Erregung des Dichter findet ihren Ausdruck in der Anapher von *nunc. Soles* in 13 sind "sonnige Tage", vgl. etwa Ovid *Tristia* V 8,33 : *Si numeres anno soles et nubila toto.*
17. *Me iuvat* usw. Dieser Zustand der Glückseligkeit veranlasst den Dichter dazu neue Zukunftspläne zu fassen, was psychologisch durchaus verständlich ist. Er kündigt an, die Liebe sowohl mit ernsthaften wissenschaftlichen Studien (17-24) als mit poetischem Schaffen (25-28) kombinieren zu wollen.
18. *Oti aque.* Dieser Vers wiederholt mit anderen Worten den Inhalt von 17. *Carpere* bedeutet hier "geniessen", vgl. u.a. Ovid *Metamorph.* X 85, Vergil *Aeneis* IV 522, VII 414, Horaz *Carm.* I 11,8 (*carpe diem* !)
- 19-20. *Iam nunc Ausoniis ...Parca, dies.* Van Santens erstes Vorhaben auf wissenschaftlichem Gebiet : Studium der römischen und besonders der griechischen Literatur. Hier liegt ein Hinweis auf tatsächlich bestehende Interessen des Dichters vor, die ihn später zur Veröffentlichung mehrerer Schriften anregten. Von Kallimachos hat er drei Hymnen und einige kleinere Gedichte herausgegeben (65), von Catull das 68. Gedicht (die Elegie an Manlius) und vom Grammatiker Servius Honoratus das Werk *De centum metris*. Auch hat er die Propezausgabe Burmans vollendet und sich eingehend mit den Neulateinern befasst. Eine Edition des Terentianus Maurus war bei seinem Tode im Jahre 1798 noch nicht fertiggestellt ; geraume Zeit später hat der Amsterdamer Professor D.J. van Lennep die Ausgabe vollendet und herausgegeben.
- 21-22. *Iam Romanarum...diserta fori.* In Wirklichkeit was das schon seit einigen Jahren Van Santens Hauptbeschäftigung. Vielleicht schon ab 1770 (eine genauere Datierung ist hier schwierig) arbeitete er als Repetitor der Leidener Jurastudenten.
21. *exemplaria.* Eigentlich "Abschrift", h.l. "Text".
22. *volvam = evolvam* "abrollen", "lesen, studieren".
- 23-24. *Imperiumque meis...ligent.* Ausserdem will der Dichter sich in Zukunft mit sowohl spezifisch holländischen als auch allgemeinen Problemen der Staatskunst und Politik beschäftigen. Ohne Zweifel gehörte Van Santen schon in diesen Jahren zur "Patriottenpartij" (66), aber erst nach der Revolution von 1795 trat er in die Öffentlichkeit, nämlich als Vorsitzender des Stadtrates von Leiden und kurz darauf (1796) als Kurator der Leidener Universität. Politische Schriften hat er nicht hinterlassen.

-
- (65) *Homeri et Callimachi Hymnus in Cererem et alia carmina minora*, Lugd. Bat. apud officina Koenigiana 1784.
Callimachi Hymnus in Jovem etc ad Corn. van Engelen, Lugd. Bat. apud Abr. et Jan. Honkoop 1786.
Callimachi Hymnus in Apollinem. Cum emendationibus ineditis L.C. Valckenaerii et interpretatione Laur. Santenni, Lugd. Bat. apud S. et J. Luchtmans 1788.
 Vollständiges Verzeichnis der Werke Van Santens in A.v.d.Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, Haarlem 1852-1878, XVII. 1, S. 103-104.
- (66) "Patriotten" hießen gegen das Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in Holland alle politischen Gegner des aus dem Hause Oranien stammenden Statthalters, sowohl die Anhänger der Regentenoligarchie, die für eine Erneuerung der statthalterlosen Periode eintraten, als diejenige, die unter dem Einfluss aufklärerischer Ideen demokratischen Reformen anstrebten. Dass Van Santen Mitglied der "Patriottenpartij" war, kann man u.a. aus der Tatsache ableiten, dass er von 1768 bis 1777 Vorsitzender der in jener Zeit sehr patriotisch gesinnten Freimaurerloge "La Vertu" in Leiden war.

25. *doctae*. Anspielung auf die *docta puella*, wie sie mehrmals in der römischen Liebeselegie auftritt (67).
27. *nepoti*. *Nepos* "Nachkomme", "Sohn", wie öfters in poetischer Sprache.
29. *Hic mihi vivendi* ...Nachahmung von Properz I 7,9 *Hic mihi conteritur vitae modus, haec mea fama est*.
30. *sera* denn der Dichter hat nie kurzlebigen Ruhm, ja nicht einmal Ruhm zu seinen Lebzeiten angestrebt. Vgl. *Ida* 4,31-32.
- 31-38. *At vos corda sophi* usw. Einerseits liegt hier eine Anspielung auf die "obsession universelle" (68) des 18. Jahrhunderts vor: die Frage nach dem Wesen des Glücks und nach der Art und Weise, wie man glücklich werden könne. Zahllose Schriften beschäftigen sich mit diesem Thema; allenthalben wird behauptet, man solle nur solchen Werten seine Aufmerksamkeit zuwenden, die auch zur Glückseligkeit des Menschen beitragen. Die Philosophie habe ihre Bedeutung in der Bereitstellung der wirksamsten Mittel zum Glücklichenwerden, Kunst und Wissenschaft seien nur wertvoll, in soweit sie uns der Glückseligkeit näher bringen würden (69). Andererseits dürften diese Verse wohl auch als ein versteckter Angriff gegen die Philosophen aufzufassen sein. Besonders die Strenge und Gefühlskälte der Stoiker wird im 18. Jahrhundert des öfteren kritisiert; in der deutschen Literatur z.B. von Christoph Martin Wieland und Johann Peter Uz (70), in der niederländischen Literatur von Jacobus Bellamy (71).
31. *sophi*. *Sophus* = σοφός, schon bei Phaedrus III 14 (*tum victor sophus*) und Martial VII 32,4 (*te sophus omnis amat*).
36. *O fieri qui vult* usw. Vgl. Ovid *Amores* I 9,46: *Qui nolet fieri desidiosus amet. qui...cunque*. Nicht ungewöhnlich, vgl. z.B. Terenz *Andria* 638 *quibus erat cumque una* und Cicero *De Oratore* III 16,9: *quam se cumque in partem*.

Universität Nijmegen.

Dirk Schouten.

-
- (67) *Docta puella* "ein Mädchen, das singt und in der Dichtkunst bewandert ist". Musterbeispiel ist Properz' Geliebte Cynthia (vgl. Properz II 3).
 - (68) Paul Hazard, *La pensée européenne au XVIII-ième siècle*, Paris 1963 S.453.
 - (69) Hazard, *La pensée européenne* S.24.
 - (70) Näheres bei Doris Fulda Merrifield, *Senecas moralische Schriften im Spiegel der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 41 (1967), S.528-540, besonders S.529-530. Fr. Merrifield glaubt, dass die negative Wertung der Stoiker angeregt sei durch die Beschäftigung mit dem damals sehr beliebten Horaz, der sich in seinen Satiren wiederholt über die stoischen Prediger seiner Zeit lustig macht (vgl. *Sat.* I 3 und II 3).
 - (71) In *Gezangen mijner Jeugd* 3, 42, 54. Siehe Jacobus Bellamy, *Gezangen mijner Jeugd*, hrsg. von P. Buynsters, Zutphen (1967), S.XV-XVI.

18. 164 p., Louvain 1969

\$6.00

Jozef IJsewijn. Henricus de Oesterwijck, the First Latin Poet of the University of Louvain (ca 1430).

Jozef IJsewijn e Gilbert Tournoy. Un primo censimento dei manoscritti e delle edizioni a stampa degli «*Elegantiarum linguae Latinae libri sex*» di Lorenzo Valla.

Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen. Deux épîtres inédites de Fausto Andrelini et l'auteur du «*Iulius Exclusus*».

Jozef IJsewijn. A Latin Death-dance play of 1532

Fred J. Nichols. The Development of Neo-Latin Theory of the Pastoral in the Sixteenth Century.

Alexander Soczewka. Gaspari Pętkowski, viri Poloni e S.J. (1554-1612) DIALOGUS PASCHALIS.

Zdzisław Piszczek. Die Geschichte vom Kaiser Mauritius auf der Bühne der Kollegien Societatis Jesu in Polen.

Jozef IJsewijn. Une épître inédite de Fabio Chigi (Alexandre VII) à Fernand de Fuerstenberg, écrite pendant le Conclave.

Aemilius Piovesan. Ubaldus Bregolini (1722-1807).

19. 514 p., Louvain 1970

\$ 18.00

Maria Teresa Graziosi Acquaro. Petri Odi Montopolitani Carmina nunc primum e libris manu scriptis edita

Gilles G. Meersseman, O.P. L'Epistolaire de Jean Van den Veren et le début de l'humanisme en Flandre

Gilbert Tournoy. Francesco Diedo, Venetian Humanist and Politician of the Quattrocento

Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen. Zwei unveröffentlichte Gedichte an Erasmus aus Girolamo Bolognis Promiscuorum libri

Paul Thoen. Aesopus Dorpii : essai sur l'Esope latin des temps modernes

Aemilius Piovesan. Franciscus Floreanus Da Varago (1491-1556)

Georgius Axer. "Boleslaus Secundus Furens", de Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis martyrio tragoedia

Jean-Marie Valentin. "Macarius Romanus" de Jakob Bidermann. Réédition et introduction

Juliette Desjardins. Larissa de Théophile de Viau, une "fable milésienne" du 17^e siècle. Etude littéraire, texte latin, traduction française, appendice bibliographique

Leo M. Kaiser. The Oratio Quinta of Urian Oakes, Harvard 1678

Caelestis Eichenseer, O.S.B. Hermann Steinberger, ein Münchner Lateindichter

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

Individual volumes available, paperbound, as follows:

1. (Cranevelt, Francis of). — *Litterae Virorum Eruditorum* ad Franciscum Craneveldium, 1522-1528. A Collection of original letters ed. from the mss. and illustrated with notes and commentaries, by H. de Vocht. Louvain, 1928. \$30.00
2. Erasmus Desiderius. The Earliest English Translations of Erasmus' Colloquia, 1536-1566: Two Dyaloges. A Mery Dialogue. Ye Pylgremage of Pure Deuotyön. Diuersoria. Ed., with intro. and notes, by H. de Vocht. Louvain, 1928. \$18.00
3. Roersch, A. L'Humanisme Belge à l'Époque de la Renaissance. Études et Portraits. 2^e série. Louvain, 1933. \$10.00
4. Vocht, H. de. Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia. Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists in the first half of the 16th century: Erasmus, Vives, Dorpius, Clenardus, Goes, Moringus. Louvain, 1934. \$25.00
5. Polet, A. Une Gloire de l'Humanisme Belge: Petrus Nannius, 1500-1557. Louvain, 1936. \$15.00
6. Daxhelet, E. Adrien Barlandus, Humaniste Belge, 1486-1538. Sa vie, son œuvre, sa personnalité. Louvain, 1938. \$15.00
7. Vocht, H. de. Acta Thomae Mori. History of the Reports of his Trial and Death, with an unedited contemporary narrative. Illustr. Louvain, 1947. \$12.00
8. Ruyschaert, J. Juste Lipse et les Annales de Tacite. Une méthode de critique textuelle au 16^e siècle. Turnhout, 1949. \$12.00
9. Vocht, H. de. Jerome de Busleyden, founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue, his Life and Writings. Ed. for the first time in their entirety from the original manuscript. Turnhout, 1950. \$20.00
- 10-13. Vocht, H. de. History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517-1550. 4 vols. Louvain, 1951-1955. \$90.00
14. Auwater, C. V. van. Cornelii Valerii ab Auwater Epistolae et Carmina. Published from the original drafts, with intro. and notes, by H. de Vocht. Louvain, 1957. \$22.50
15. Pighius, S. V. Stephani Vinandi Pighii Epistolarium. Publ. from the Brussels Copy, Cart. & Man., 187, with intro. and notes by H. de Vocht. Louvain, 1959. \$18.00
16. Vocht, H. de. John Dantiscus and his Netherlandish Friends, as revealed by their Correspondence 1522-1546. Publ. from the orig. documents, with intro. and notes by H. de Vocht. Louvain, 1961. \$18.00
17. STUDIA ET TEXTUS NEOLATINI : \$6.00
 - Pars Prior: Humanistica Belgica :
 - J. IJsewijn. The Life and Works of the Neo-latin Poet Adeodatus Marivorda (1556-1584).
 - J. IJsewijn. Le Manuscrit de la "Marie Stuarta" de J. Zevecotius.
 - Pars Altera: Romanensia :
 - G. Tournoy. Historia trium amantium. Une contribution à l'étude de la nouvelle latine au Quattrocento.
 - D. A. Fleming. Barclay's Satyricon: Mirror of its age.
 - Marie-José Desmet-Goethals. Johannis Ludovici Praschii Ratisponensis Psyche Cretica. Édition du texte avec une introduction sur le roman néo-latin. 162 p., 1968